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WHAT JAPAN WANTS

YOSHI S. KUNO

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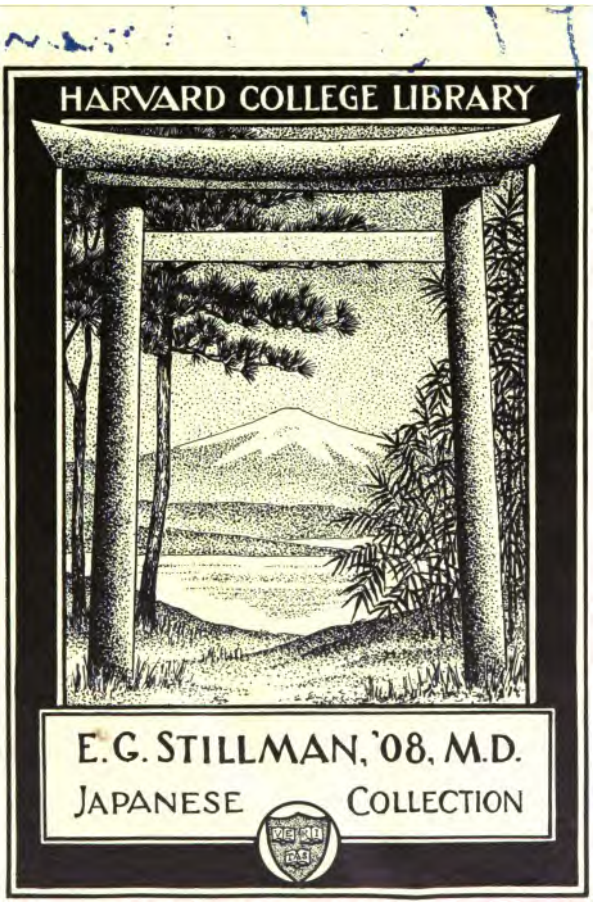

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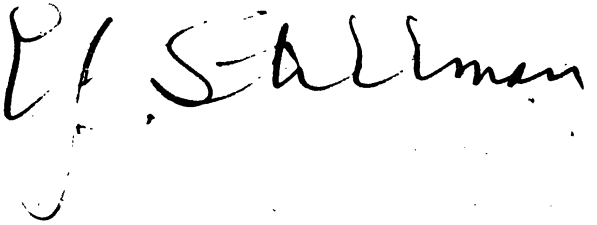

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What Japan Wants

By Yoshi S. Kuno, Assistant Professor, Oriental Department, University of California. 150 pages.

The adjective "timely" at once comes to mind when picking up this book on the Japanese problem, written by a Japanese. The diplomatic sky has been overclouded of late in this direction, especially between Japan and America, because there has not been a ready answer to the question, What does Japan want?

With her overteeming population, Japan wants and must have an outlet. How this will square with American interests in the Pacific is the chief theme of the present book. Its author, a native Japanese, has been educated in this country, and is now identified with one of the largest western universities. He brings to bear an oriental mind touched with occidental insight. His chapter heads illustrate his frank approach to the subject, "What Japan Wants in America," touching upon the immigration question and the possibilities of war between the two countries; "What Japan Wants in the Pacific"; "In China"; "In Korea"; "In Siberia," and "At Home"; followed by a discussion of "What Japan Should Want and Should Do." The treatment is remarkably fair-minded, and after reading the book one can endorse Dr. Benjamin Ide Wheeler's commendation: "Professor Kuno is a man whose judgment can be wholly respected. He knows whereof he speaks."

Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS

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"A man whose judgment can be wholly respected, and who is not accustomed to saying or doing wild things. He knows whereof he speaks."

—Benjamin Ide Wheeler,
Pres. Emeritus, Univ. of California.

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS

BY

YOSHI S. KUNO

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NEW YORK
THOMAS Y. CROWELL COMPANY
PUBLISHERS

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FOREWORD

IT IS the purpose of this small volume to set forth plainly and without bias what Japan wants both at home and abroad. The author would request the reader to bear in mind that the material contained in the first six chapters portrays existing conditions and does not of necessity reflect his personal ideals and policies. However, the solutions offered both in these and in the concluding chapter, being based upon knowledge gained through years of extensive research work, set forth his personal opinions as to what Japan and other nations should do. The mission of this treatise is therefore twofold:

First, to acquaint Occidental readers with the state of public opinion in Japan regarding these various subjects.

Second, to formulate plans for the solution of the numerous problems involved.

YOSHI S. KUNO.

August 25, 1921.

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CHAPTER I

WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN AMERICA

WITHOUT question, Japan may rightly claim to be the oldest existing empire in the world. Furthermore, she holds the unique distinction of having been ruled throughout by the same Imperial line. Although, according to tradition, the Empire was founded in 660 B.C., Occidental scholars, versed in the history of Japan, and even prominent native historians hesitate to place the date earlier than that of the founding of the Roman Empire, or about the time of the beginning of the Christian era.

During this long period of her national existence, Japan has undergone four great national reformations. The first of these, which was consequent upon the introduction

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of Chinese civilization and methods of government, took place in 640 A.D., the second was consummated by the completion of the system of feudal government in 1192. Japan entered upon the work of the third in 1854, when the country was re-opened to Occidental civilization by Commodore Perry. The Great War of 1914 marks the beginning of the fourth period of reformation.

The strength of the nation was rooted in the work of the first and second reformations, while through the third and fourth, Modern Japan has come to rank as one of the five leading powers of the world. The third reformation was concerned chiefly with the introduction of Western ideas, principally from the United States. The fourth is also being carried out largely along American lines. Therefore, "What Japan Wants" is a question of vital importance in America as well as in Japan.

In considering the question "What Japan Wants in America," we are confronted with

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many grave problems. Of these, the question of immigration is the most warmly discussed at the present time. However, in so far as the United States is concerned, Japanese immigration is already a closed matter. Ever since the United States and Japan entered into the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907, Japan has strictly adhered to the terms of the compact, and no Japanese immigrants have been permitted to land in Continental United States. Although, like Brazil,[1] Mexico is exceedingly friendly to Japan and welcomes immigrants from that country, yet, according to the terms of the Gentlemen's

[1] With regard to Japanese emigration to Brazil, it is undeniable that there are many Japanese firms and promoters operating in Japan for the purpose of assisting emigrants to go thither, as well as to Chile and Peru, where the Japanese also find a welcome. During the past five years the percentage of Japanese emigrating to Brazil has been very much higher than formerly. Although, before the Great War, there were but a few thousand Japanese in Brazil, today there are approximately 40,000. Still, numerically, they constitute but a negligible element. Furthermore, Japan as a nation would greatly prefer elbow room on the Asiatic continent to having her sons and daughters go so far from home.

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Agreement, Japan may not permit emigration to Mexico because of her contiguity to the United States.

Although none can foresee the outcome of the discussion of Japan's relations with the United States, now in progress at Washington, still the question of exclusion of Japanese immigrants from the United States is no longer an open one requiring the further attention of statesmen and diplomats.

When one nation enters into diplomatic negotiations with another, it should be prepared as if for war. In military encounter, no matter how great the stores of ammunition, how perfect the equipment, or how well-trained the men, no prudent general risks a battle without first sending out scouts to reconnoiter the field and gather information as to the position, strength, and plans of the enemy. Likewise, in the diplomatic duel, the representatives of the nation, far-sighted, keen, and well-trained though they may be, are not in a position to conclude a satisfac-

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tory treaty or agreement with a foreign power unless they are well-versed in the laws, customs, manners, and historical usages of that people.

Following the Chino-Japan War, the Japanese began to migrate to the United States in ever-increasing numbers. At the close of the war with Russia, the rate of increase of such emigration was greatly augmented. The Japanese question then became a serious one in California. In deference to the expressed desire of many Californians, the federal government showed some inclination to extend the provisions of the Chinese Exclusion Law to include the Japanese. Although Japan recognized the situation and even agreed to stop sending emigrants, yet she made strong objection to having Japanese subjects treated in the same way as were the Chinese.

Thereupon a compromise method, known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, was entered into. By its provisions, Japan agreed to

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check the coming of Japanese laborers by refusing to issue passports to them; and in turn, the United States promised to treat Japanese who should come provided with passports the same as immigrants from Europe. This agreement became known as the Gentlemen's Agreement, because both Japan and the United States promised to live up to its terms as the honor of a gentleman would dictate.

On the whole, the Gentlemen's Agreement has been faithfully adhered to. However, it has functioned in a most unexpected way, and the outcome is a condition entirely unforeseen. Instead of checking immigration as was intended, the agreement has brought about directly opposite results, and many perplexing problems have arisen therefrom.

Perhaps no people in the world are more home-loving than are the Japanese. Indeed, the home-loving characteristic has become a sort of second nature to them. This is probably to be attributed to the policy adopted by

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the Japanese Government in 1638. After Japan had completely exterminated Catholicism, and had driven all foreigners from her shores, most drastic policies were put in force. Not only were foreigners prohibited from coming to Japan as either missionaries or traders, but the Japanese themselves were strictly forbidden to go to foreign countries, the penalty being death, if detected in an effort to embark. In order to make it well-nigh impossible for Japanese to go abroad, the government destroyed all ships larger than fifty tons.

When Commodore Perry entered Japan in 1853, he found its people both content to stay at home and without means of going abroad. An interesting though sad thing took place with the coming of Perry. The most famous statesman of his day, Shoin Yoshida, who was in fact the real founder of modern Japan, strongly opposed the reopening of the Empire to foreign trade. However, being a man of foresight, he believed it would be wise to

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visit foreign countries for the purpose of discovering how Japan might best be able to reject foreign demands. With this in mind, Yoshida went aboard Perry's ship in the dead of night, and asked that Perry take him to America so that he might learn something of the customs of the people of the United States.

In order to avoid violation of the law of Japan, Perry denied the request. The act of Yoshida in attempting to go to a foreign country made him amenable to punishment under the law, and later became a contributing cause to his decapitation at the hands of the Japanese Government.[1]

Such being the condition, after the nation had been forced to reopen her ports and had again engaged in foreign trade, Japanese trade was for many years conducted wholly by Occidentals residing in the open ports of Japan. It was only after the Chino-Japan

[1] The entire story may be found in the "Life of Shoin Yoshida," by Robert Louis Stevenson.

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War, less than thirty years ago, that Japan really entered into her modern national life. A decade later came the war with Russia. These two wars placed the economic condition of Japan upon an entirely different basis. Through them she had come to know and to be influenced by the outside world. Although the Japanese as a whole still continued to be a home-loving people, there are two reasons why numbers of them began migrating to the United States. First, a thousand dollars was, in those days, abundant capital with which to purchase, equip, and stock a farm in Japan. Therefore, in the beginning, those Japanese who came to the United States did so with the idea of earning enough money to enable them to return to Japan and buy a farm. The second reason for their coming is to be found in the fact that ere long the Japanese working in the United States discovered that this was a country in which they could make large sums of money in a very short time. Consequently, in 1906-07, after

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the close of the war with Russia, which had all but bankrupted Japan, emigration to the United States increased by leaps and bounds. The Japanese question then assumed serious proportions in California, and agitation followed, the outgrowth of which was the Gentlemen's Agreement in 1907.

By this compact the Japanese covenanted not to permit either skilled or unskilled labor to enter Continental United States, and specified merchants, professional men, students, the wives or husbands of persons living in the United States, their fathers and mothers, and dependent children as those qualified to have passports issued to them.

For several years after this agreement was entered into the Japanese question practically lapsed, as the Japanese in California saw no way of meeting the situation. In fact, prior to 1911, most of the Japanese in the State were males. Plans were, however, finally formulated. The Japanese Association was organized, Japanese schools were established,

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and Japanese residents in California who had wives in Japan sent for them, while many bachelors imported Picture Brides. Those with parents or children brought them to this country also. Upon arrival, many brides worked as housemaids, while in other cases whole families worked together either in the fields or in the fisheries. In addition to those thus brought into the United States, the number of Japanese in the State was steadily augmented by the high birth-rate on California soil. Thus did the Japanese come to establish settlements within the United States and to organize a government within a government. As a result, the control of the minor agricultural products of California, such as potatoes, tomatoes, berries, green vegetables, etc., and also to a great extent, particularly in southern California, of the fishing industry, has passed into the hands of the Japanese. Therefore, in spite of the Gentlemen's Agreement, the Japanese population has continued to increase and the Japanese question has assumed

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grave proportions from an economic and agricultural standpoint.

To meet this situation, the California Legislature passed the Anti-Alien Law in 1913.[1] Seven years later this law, having proven ineffective, Amendment I[2] was placed on the ballot. Prior to Election Day, the Japanese sought in many ways to bargain with the people of California by making certain concessions with the hope that the amendment would not pass. An example of this is found in their voluntary surrender of the right to bring Picture Brides. Nevertheless, in spite of their efforts, the Japanese soon realized

[1] According to the provisions of the Anti-Alien Law, foreigners ineligible to naturalization may neither buy nor inherit land in California; neither may they lease agricultural land for a period exceeding three years. However, city lots for industrial and residence purposes may be leased for the same length of time for which land in Japan is leased to foreigners according to treaty provisions. At present the longest term of lease obtainable in Japan is 99 years.

[2] Amendment I prohibits entirely the leasing of agricultural land by aliens ineligible to naturalization. It also prohibits parents becoming guardians of minors in whose names land is purchased.

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that the amendment would surely pass. Thereupon, the Japanese Association, in conjunction with the office of the Japanese Consul-General in San Francisco, exerted itself so that all possible opportunity might be afforded women in Japan to obtain passports before the last day of their issue, which was set for the end of February, 1920.

Though Amendment I appears drastic enough, ere long California will rub her eyes and wake up to the fact that it is equally ineffective as the law of 1913. There are at present more than a thousand native sons of Japanese parentage in California who are steadily approaching maturity, and who will have legal right to organize corporations and thereby purchase land. Taking into consideration the number of these native sons, it is easy to see that hundreds of such corporations might be organized. Should sympathetic Japanese millionaires, such as Baron Shibusawa, decide to advance the money, nothing would prevent the Japanese buying all the

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land they wanted; neither could the government of California, equipped with its present laws, lift a hand to prevent them. Under the protection of corporations thus organized, unnaturalized Japanese would be able to continue in agricultural work.

The subject, therefore, that requires serious consideration is how the Japanese resident in the United States should be dealt with. Californians should realize that, unassimilable and undesirable as they may consider the Japanese, those who are already within the confines of the State cannot be deported. The burning question is, "Are they to be isolated or Americanized?" Are the fires of race hatred and suspicion to be constantly rekindled, or are these people to be Christianized and assimilated? Should it not be the ambition of every true American, though it may take a generation or two, to make loyal citizens of this foreign element?

Among the many things that Japan wants in America is that the American people as a

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whole attain a better understanding of the obligations of the United States to Japan according to treaty stipulations and other agreements. Recent acts in California prove conclusively that even among the educated class, this sort of knowledge is entirely lacking. For instance, in San Francisco, the center of the state's commerce, and in Berkeley, the center of education and culture, men who stand high in civil life hold meetings and discuss with great earnestness the question of segregating the Japanese and compelling them to reside in certain specified districts.

Another example of this lack of knowledge is found in the enactment of the Alien Poll Tax Law, the intent of which was to strike at the Japanese. This was passed with an overwhelming majority in the initiative at the recent state election. Then the bill passed with a good majority in each house of the state legislature, finally becoming a law by being signed by the governor.

Whether the Japanese may be segregated

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or not, and whether or no the Alien Poll Tax Law is operative can be readily ascertained by turning to the treaty of Amity and Commerce entered into between the United States and Japan. Therefore, Japan desires that Americans as a whole, and Californians in particular, inform themselves regarding the status of Japanese resident in the United States before taking action against them. Near the head of the list of what Japan wants in America, therefore, stands fair treatment of Japanese already admitted to the United States.

Some Japanese, however, have taken an extreme position with regard to how Japanese should be treated in America, and have gone so far as to demand that Japanese be permitted to become naturalized citizens under the present laws of the United States. Such demand, besides being ridiculous, savors of insincerity. In Japan, it is the common custom, when Japanese meet with Chinese at any public gathering or banquet, for

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their first words of greeting to be "Dobun doshu," which means, "We are people who use the same language and belong to the same race." Then they go on to say that because of this, Chinese and Japanese must be friends under all circumstances. Although the Japanese talk in this way at home and on the Asiatic continent, when they come to America, however, they demand the privilege of naturalization, while knowing well that the Chinese as Mongolians cannot be naturalized. They contend, in explanation, that Japanese are not Mongolians, and that therefore they should be naturalized. Any person with some knowledge of Japanese history and of the naturalization laws of the United States, can readily see that the Japanese belong to a race to which the franchise is not extended under the present laws. However, though such is the existing state of affairs, the United States may find some solution to this question in order to meet the need. For instance, Congress might pass a

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franchise law similar to that passed during the recent war, which made it possible for all foreigners who joined the United States forces during the Great War to take out citizenship papers. Should a law be passed permitting the naturalization of all Japanese already within the United States, the whole question, including the Anti-Alien Law, the Alien Poll Tax Law, etc., would be automatically solved.

However, should the Japanese be naturalized under present conditions, unforeseen difficulties would arise. The United States should permit the Japanese on her soil to become naturalized only on condition that Japan revise her law regarding naturalization and expatriation. According to the present law, foreigners who have lived in Japan for five consecutive years may be naturalized provided they are of good moral character and have sufficient means of support. However, should such persons after naturalization expatriate themselves from Japan, they would

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never again be permitted to become Japanese subjects. On the other hand, Japanese born either in Japan or in a foreign country are permitted to expatriate themselves and become citizens or subjects of foreign nations, provided they take such steps before the age of seventeen, or after they have either been exempted from or have served in military duty. These Japanese who have thus expatriated themselves may at any time re-become Japanese subjects, provided they establish a domicile within the bounds of the Empire of Japan.

This law, while severe to foreigners, is lenient to Japanese. Though probably remote from the purpose of the framers of the law, one might reasonably interpret it as an artifice on the part of Japan by which her subjects might become citizens of foreign nations in order to enjoy full rights and privileges in other countries, with the view of later returning to allegiance to their mother country. The Japanese Government should

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revise this law so that a Japanese who expatriates himself should never again be permitted to become a subject of Japan. This would obviate the danger of a hyphenated loyalty.

After the right to become American citizens had been accorded to the Japanese, should persons engaged in agricultural pursuits for more than ten years evince no desire to become American citizens, such persons might be termed "undesirable foreigners." Agricultural land owned by them might be condemned by the state, and the privilege of engaging in agricultural work might be denied them. By this method, within a decade, the agricultural land of the state would be redeemed from the tenure of undesirable and unassimilable foreigners. All Americans in the Western States would then be satisfied.

The most serious question upon the lips of both Japanese and Americans today is, "Will there be war between the United States and

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Japan?" This question is not only discussed in the newspapers and by the people at large, but even thoughtful scholars and statesmen on both sides of the Pacific have written volumes regarding it. Some of these books have reached as high as the thirtieth edition within a single year. Yet people well informed regarding the conditions of both nations are inclined to believe that a war between two such countries is next to impossible.

Although during the past two centuries, men of science have invented many wonderful things, thus eliminating obstacles and putting into operation many marvelous devices, long believed impossible, still the geographical distance between the two nations from the standpoint of war remains as insusceptible to elimination as before. Two nations, thousands of miles apart, cannot war with each other to advantage.

The United States and Japan are separated by 4,000 miles of watery waste. Doubtless,

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military geniuses in both nations are able to devise scores of ways for occupying portions of the territory of the other; yet, at the same time they must admit that, because of the necessity of transporting supplies and ammunition across the ocean, there is not a single way by which they may maintain a military force, sufficient to enable them to utilize temporary victory in the country of the other. Therefore, to talk of war between the United States and Japan, both of which are so well protected and fortified, is comparable to the day dream of a young graduate of shortly becoming president of the United States.

This remains true, however, only so long as both nations maintain large navies. Japan has discovered that it is financially impossible for her to keep pace with the United States in the building of battleships. This makes clear why she has recently begun to discuss a "holiday for the navy." At the same time, it explains why, notwithstanding the fact that limitation of armament has met with nation-

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wide favor in Japan, she has hesitated to make a movement in that direction unless the United States would take a similar step. The limitation of both her own naval strength and that of the United States is one of the things that Japan wants more than anything else.

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS ON THE PACIFIC OCEAN

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CHAPTER II

WHAT JAPAN WANTS ON THE PACIFIC OCEAN

THE Pacific Ocean, from the standpoint of both its size and political importance, is far-reaching. While bathing the shores of Canada, the United States, Mexico, and of numerous political units in both Central and South America on the one side, its waters surge against the coasts of Siberia, Japan, Korea, China, and many other lands on the other, and encircle the thousands of islands, both great and small, that stud its bosom. Although the claiming of the Pacific by so many and so various peoples would seem to complicate matters, yet upon its broad expanse there is room for all.

In the past, Japan and the United States have always assumed an attitude of compromise with regard to any question of the Pacific. Of the many other lands washed

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by its waters, Hawaii, Mexico, Korea, and China are the countries looming largest in present-day controversies between Japan and the United States. One finds the history of the relations of these nations of great interest.

As early as 1610, nearly two centuries before the United States had begun to rise as a nation, Japan sent an envoy to Mexico in a ship built in her own yards. When, however, in 1863, Napoleon III, in order to establish French influence in Mexico, set up Maximilian as emperor there, the country was saved through the influence of the United States. From that time until the present, American influence in Mexico has been on the increase. Prior to this, the United States had gradually extended toward Mexico territorially. Texas had been annexed, and several Western States carved out of what had once been Mexican territory. Today, none can deny that the United States holds paramount sway in Mexico, both politically and industrially.

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On the other hand, although the international relations between Japan and China may be traced back fifteen centuries, yet from the standpoint of modern international relations, the United States entered into actual treaty relations with China several years earlier than did Japan. However, in the beginning of the 20th century, when Russia made repeated demands upon China for concessions, and China proved herself entirely powerless to resist, it was Japan that risked her national independence in a great war by which Russia was forced back and China saved. Prior to this, Japan had exerted great influence in Korea, then avowedly a dependency of China. Finally, Korea was annexed to Japan, and Japanese influence so extended into China that today Manchuria and Shantung are practically under her political control. Today none can deny that Japan holds paramount sway in China, financially, politically, and industrially.

Explanation of this extension of territory

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and influence on the part of both the United States and Japan is to be found in the fact that both of these nations grew strong while their neighbors to the south were in so unsettled a condition that they were unable to take care of themselves. Therefore, in discussion of the question of the Pacific, one does well to bear in mind the similarity of the relationship of Mexico to the United States, to that of China to Japan.

In 1881, King Kalakaua of Hawaii made a tour of the world and sojourned for some time in Japan. While there, he approached both the government and the Emperor of Japan with the request that Japanese be encouraged to migrate to Hawaii. He realized that the Hawaiians were a dying race and believed that an influx of Japanese would rehabilitate the nation. In discussing the matter, he agreed to many conditions made by the Japanese Government, regarding the privileges and protection to be enjoyed in Hawaii by those Japanese who should elect

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to go to live there. The Japanese found in Hawaii a veritable Paradise of the Pacific, and at the time of its annexation to the United States, the Japanese population of the islands outnumbered that of any other race, native Hawaiians not excepted. Nevertheless, the Japanese Government readily recognized the annexation.

It was the United States that really introduced Occidental civilization into Korea. Yet, similarly, when Korea was annexed to Japan, notwithstanding the fact that many of the industrial interests in that peninsula, especially in mining and along electrical lines of work, were in the hands of Americans, the United States was practically the first nation to recognize the annexation by Japan and to recall her minister from Korea.

History thus bears witness that in former times it has been the working policy of both Japan and the United States to solve questions of the Pacific amicably and with mutual regard for the rights and interests of the

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other. However, since the interests of the United States in the Philippines have become increasingly important on the one hand, and on the other, since the shipping on the Pacific has so largely fallen into the hands of Japan, especially since she demonstrated the strength of her marine power during the Great War by driving Germany from that ocean and taking upon herself the policing of the same, both Japan and the United States have taken a different attitude, and the control of the Pacific Ocean has become a problem among the nations.

In fact, Japan has no intention of seeking to control the Pacific Ocean single-handed. She well knows that such would be impossible so long as strong marine powers like Great Britain and the United States exist. What she really wants is to have a fair share of the rights and privileges on the Pacific. Such being the case, the strong fortification by the United States of Hawaii, Guam, and the Philippines has caused her great misgiv-

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ings. She can see no reason from her own standpoint for the fortification of these islands unless the United States regards Japan as a potential enemy. Therefore, with the exception of a few militarists, the people of Japan are united in wanting all nations to remove all fortifications from their insular possessions on the Pacific, so that this ocean may become in reality what it is already in name, a truly "peaceful sea."

In the 16th and 17th centuries, when Japan first came into contact with Occidental nations, such as Spain, Portugal, Great Britain, and Holland, she built ships in her own yards of sufficient size to compete successfully with those of Occidental nations. However, when she entered upon a period of complete seclusion in 1638, she became practically a shipless Island Empire. Consequently, for many years after Japan was re-opened, most of the Japanese trade was conducted by foreigners living in Japan, and the major part of Japanese imports and exports were carried in

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foreign bottoms. Ere long, both government and people came to realize the need of ships, and the government adopted the subsidy system to encourage the building of large merchant ships. The fruits of this policy were harvested in the Chino-Japan War. After the termination of the war, the subsidy system was extended. To it may be credited at least a part of the success in the war with Russia. As a result also, Japan today controls the shipping enterprise of the Pacific. Therefore Japan does not consider it any concern of hers whether any other nation subsidizes shipping. What she wants is the assurity that Japanese ships in foreign waters will have the same rights and privileges as are accorded foreign ships in Japanese waters. It is a well-known fact that Japan strongly desires to lay a cable across the Pacific in conjunction with the United States. Therefore, it is evident that with regard to transportation and communication, Japan wants the co-operation of the United States.

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In discussing the question of the Pacific Ocean, one must not overlook the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Yet, it is a surprising fact that even prominent statesmen and publicists lack an understanding knowledge of this document. Consequently it may be in place here to devote brief space to a discussion of the three Anglo-Japanese treaties of Alliance.

The first Alliance was entered into in 1902. It was prompted by two motives:

1. The desire to check the aggression of Russia in the Far East. By the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Great Britain and Japan covenanted to maintain the sovereignty and integrity of China and Korea.

2. The desire of Great Britain to be enabled to withdraw her naval force from Oriental waters and thus increase the number of ships at home. This was deemed advisable because of the aggressive naval policy of Germany.

However, after Japan, abetted by the moral

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support of Great Britain, had successfully prosecuted the war with Russia, she found it essential to make a protectorate of Korea. For this reason, before the expiration of the term of the first alliance, it became necessary to enter into a new alliance. This was done in 1905. Great Britain did not take this step without securing some advantage to herself. The most notable changes in the second treaty of alliance were:

1. The striking out of the name of Korea.

2. The writing in of the name of India, so that Japan should be responsible for certain military service in case India should be attacked.

The second and third treaties of alliance are practically the same. There is no particular reason why the second alliance should have been renewed before its expiration, except that Japan desired to show a friendly attitude toward Great Britain and the United States. In 1911, when these nations were discussing a treaty of general arbitration, Japan

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perceived that one term of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance stood in the way of the successful conclusion of an Arbitration Treaty. Thereupon, she voluntarily approached Great Britain with the proposal that an additional article be incorporated in the treaty of Alliance: viz., that both Japan and Great Britain should be entirely free from obligation to render military assistance to the other in case either of them should engage in war with any nation with which the other had a treaty of arbitration.

Since the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was first formed, many changes have taken place in world conditions, and the treaty has served purposes foreign to those of the original intent. Nevertheless, the motif of the first and second treaties was to curb the aggression of Russia. Though Russia was defeated in 1905, yet she has since changed the Siberian Railway from single to double track and had also undertaken a complete reorganization of her military forces. The truth of the latter is

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fully attested by the complete surprise of the Germans at the unexpected preparedness and facility of mobilization of the Russian army in the beginning of the Great War.

The three treaties of Anglo-Japanese Alliance have been really beneficial both to China and to the peace of the Pacific. Although China is protesting at present against the formation of a new alliance, yet formerly she made no protest at the time of the signing of any of the three treaties of alliance. Through the alliance both Great Britain and Japan have enjoyed benefits. Japan's success in the war of 1905, through which she became a great power in the world, and also her ability to secure many concessions in China may be largely attributed to her alliance with Great Britain. From 1914 on, throughout the duration of the Great War, Great Britain was able to feel easy, regarding the protection of her Eastern possessions. Moreover, she was able to rely upon Japanese naval power for the protection of her interests

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in the Mediterranean. Her hands were thus freed for other work, and she was the better able to prosecute the war successfully. Still it is a great question today both in Great Britain and Japan whether it will be wise to renew the alliance. It rather seems as though, under changed world conditions, that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance has reached the end of its usefulness. Should it be renewed in its original form, it might arouse great suspicion in the United States as well as in other nations. If it should be renewed in the form that has been reported probable; that is, by removing all military features and making it a commercial alliance instead, it would flavor of a monopoly of the Pacific. Such a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, while failing to confer a single benefit upon the contracting powers, would be fraught with possible harm. Disturbance among English-speaking peoples might be created on the one hand, while on the other the unfriendly feeling between China and Japan

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would doubtless be enhanced. Suspicions, boycotts, and lack of willingness to co-operate would be among the first fruits. It is hoped that this Alliance will be laid in an honorable grave at the Disarmament Conference at Washington.

Today, the Japanese population in Hawaii practically predominates, as it constitutes nearly one-half of the total population of the islands. This has caused great anxiety on the part of many American statesmen for fear that the legislative power of Hawaii may some day fall into the hands of the Japanese, and that Japan may eventually come to control the islands. Some Americans have gone so far as to state that, with this in view, Japan has actually sent ex-soldiers to the islands. Such report is groundless. What Japan wants with regard to the Japanese in the Hawaiian Islands is that her people be given perfect freedom either to return to Japan with their money and establish permanent homes in Japan, or to remain in

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Hawaii and become naturalized citizens of the United States. This is corroborated in that many Japanese who were not even born in Hawaii joined the United States forces during the Great War and later availed themselves of the privilege of naturalization. Therefore, if the United States Government should assume a proper attitude toward the Japanese within her boundaries, they would either return home or become an integral part of her population.

Next to Hawaii, the Island of Yap looms large upon the horizon of controversy. Yap came under the mandate of the Japanese Government as a result of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, because Japan had rendered the utmost assistance to Great Britain during the war, in accordance with the stipulations of the alliance. Therefore when Japan received the first note from Secretary Hughes regarding this island, great excitement prevailed throughout the nation. Some prominent Japanese writers even went so far as to state

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that this was the first step toward the disintegration of Japan's acquired territory. Consequently, most Japanese regarded the claim of the United States as exceedingly unjust and strongly protested that Japan's claim to Yap should be maintained at all hazards. However the ire of the people has been gradually assuaged as they have come to understand the peculiar situation of the Island of Yap relative to the Philippines. Such being the condition, what Japan wants with regard to the Island of Yap is that she may cede the cable line, in which the United States has a special interest because it runs to the Philippines, to the United States, and still retain the mandate of the island according to the terms of the Peace Treaty.

Next comes a question widely discussed in America: viz., "Would Japan annex the Philippines in case the United States should grant those islands complete independence?" From a geographical standpoint this question is a very natural one, because, Formosa being

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the connecting link, the Philippines seem to form a part of the long chain of islands constituting Japan. However, at the present time, Japan fosters no such ambition. As a matter of fact, before the Spanish-American War, Japan flatly refused to comply with a request of the Philippine Government to render some military assistance. Furthermore, the Philippines offer no opening for Japanese emigrants. Because of the enervating climate, those Japanese who have gone to the Philippines are constantly returning, and the Japanese population of the islands is steadily on the decrease. Therefore, what Japan wants in the Philippines is that, in the course of time, the Philippines may be granted independence, either complete or under the protectorate of the United States, and that Japan may be able to enjoy unhampered trade with them. As a matter of fact, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Philippines constituted one of the two main sources of

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Japan's foreign trade; the other being New Spain.

In conclusion, let us restate what Japan wants with regard to the control of the Pacific. She desires to make some arrangement with the United States, whereby each nation shall so limit the strength of her own navy as to maintain only sufficient sea-power for defensive purposes, thus leaving the entire ocean open to the interests of all nations. In other words, Japan would extend the Open Door policy to the Pacific.

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN CHINA

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CHAPTER III

WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN CHINA

THE United States has a right to claim to have been, whether intentionally or not, the benefactor of Oriental nations. It was she who introduced Japan to the world. Furthermore, the United States is the only great Occidental power that has no territorial possessions in China. On every possible occasion, she has extended to China a helping hand. However, prior to 1905 when the Russo-Japan War came to a close, the United States had shown warmer friendship for Japan than for China. With the completion of the transcontinental railroad in the United States, which was accomplished largely through the employment of Chinese laborers, the Chinese became an element of industrial disturbance on the Pacific Coast. "The Chinese Must Go" became a common slogan,

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and sand-lot speakers drew large crowds. This agitation culminated in the enactment of the Geary Exclusion Law in 1882.

About this time the Japanese began coming to the United States. They were received with open arms and constituted a species of pet Orientals. Therefore when the war between China and Japan broke out in 1894, American sympathy was with Japan. However, through the Chino-Japan War and the Spanish-American War, Japan and the United States both came to rank as world powers. Yet for many years they did not come into conflict on any question. The United States practically looked upon the rise of Japan as the result of American influence in that country through the introduction of Occidental civilization. Even as late as 1904, when Japan was meditating war with Russia, the United States was undeniably on the side of Japan, for she went to the extent of joining with Great Britain in a protest to Russia concerning her aggressive policy in the Orient.

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Moreover, during the progress of the war, the United States afforded moral as well as financial support to Japan.

However, the victorious ending of the war for Japan proved to be the turning-point in the relationships between Japan and the United States with regard to many points, the Far Eastern question in particular. The rapid increase of the Japanese population in the United States and the steady extension of Japanese influence in the Orient on the one hand, and on the other, the helplessness of China as a nation and the gradual decrease of the Chinese population in the United States have caused the United States to assume a different attitude toward Japan. Although both Japan and the United States are regarded as great world powers, yet it must be borne in mind that the United States is a power of mature years while Japan is merely an adolescent. In consequence, one cannot fairly judge of the conduct of Japan as a great nation by the same standards as those

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that may be rightly applied to the United States. Irregularities frequently occur when either nations or individuals rise to prominence within a limited time. Therefore it is not to be wondered at that Japan regards the annexation of Korea as comparable to the annexation of Texas by the United States. Neither is she able to differentiate between her succession to the concessions of Germany in Shantung and the succession of the United States to the French concessions in Panama. China's refusal to sign the decision of the Peace Conference regarding the disposition of Shantung is, to the Japanese mind, comparable to the refusal of Colombia to enter into treaty relations with the United States because of her dissatisfaction regarding the Panama deal.

When one lauds China as a peace-loving nation because her representative, Wellington Koo, so readily approved the policy of disarmament at the conference of the League of Nations, he must at the same time remember

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that her soldiers have mutinied again and again in such important cities as Ichang, Hankow, and Wuchang, where they have looted foreign enterprises as well as destroying Chinese property. This fact proves that China today is in no position to take the lead in a movement for disarmament. It would behoove her rather to inquire of other nations as to the best method of disarming her mutinous soldiery. China has a million fighting men to whom she owes several months of back pay.

When the decision on the Shantung question was made public, a number of United States senators and other statesmen of prominence voiced unqualified denunciation, stating that by that decision several millions of Chinese had been made the slaves of Japan and that several hundred miles of Chinese territory had been placed under Japanese control, while in fact, the district in dispute comprises but a few hundred square miles and is inhabited by not more than twenty to thirty

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thousand Chinese. Things Oriental are indeed difficult for Occidentals to understand. In order to discuss Oriental questions intelligently, statesmen and diplomats stand in need of a clearer background of historical knowledge and present-day facts regarding the nations of the Far East.

The Open Door policy, formulated by Secretary Hay, is not only of great import in the Orient, but like the Monroe Doctrine in the Western Hemisphere, this policy has created prestige for the United States in the Orient. However, after the Open Door policy had been fully recognized by all nations, it became the subject of much criticism and discussion. Charges were made that the Open Door policy was not functioning in accordance with the original intent. Deflections may be attributed, first, to the fact that the policy had no strong military backing; and second, to the circumstance that, while displaying great wisdom in formulating the policy, Secretary Hay failed to demand that

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all nations abandon their spheres of influence in China. Furthermore, in apparent contradiction to the spirit of the Open Door policy, by the terms of the Ishii-Lansing agreement, the United States herself has gone so far as to recognize the special interests of Japan in China.

Let us now endeavor to view the Open Door policy from the standpoint of China. What ground is there to assume that China will not rise again to the former state of prosperity and glory attained by her at various times, notably in the Tang and Sung dynasties, and again enjoyed for a century or more even under the rule of the Manchus? If China should thus rise once more, the discussion of the Open Door policy in China would be comparable to a discussion by European nations of an Open Door policy in the United States or in Japan. Therefore, the time may not be far distant when this policy, like the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, shall have outlived its usefulness. This suggests an-

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other thing that Japan wants: viz., to know why China is objecting so strongly to a renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, in which the integrity and sovereignty of China are guaranteed, the objections being made on the ground that the affairs of an independent nation are not open to discussion by other nations, while at the same time, she raises no voice against the Open Door policy, which would appear to be even more meddlesome. What Japan wants today with regard to the Open Door policy, is that it be maintained with the assurance that each nation may retain undisturbed control of interests already acquired in China. Furthermore, she desires that the United States, Japan, and Great Britain unite in helping China financially and politically.

Japan's attitude toward China, especially since the Chino-Japan War, is one of marked contrast to that maintained by her for a thousand years, prior to the middle of the 19th century. Great respect and fear have been

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replaced by contempt and scorn. Moreover, China, discarding her former attitude of self-sufficiency has recognized the advantageous situation of Japan in the Orient. Year after year, she has sent thousands of students to Japan to be educated in Japanese schools. She has also invited both Japanese statesmen and scholars to aid in the reorganization of both her educational and governmental systems.

In this connection, Japan has made a serious mistake. That is, Japan has come to believe that China can be saved only by depending upon her. She has placed herself high above China and has reached down a hand which she has commanded China to humbly grasp if she would keep her head above water. However, China, though greatly weakened, still priding herself upon being a nation with four thousand years of history and tradition behind her, has chosen rather to sink by herself than to float under the lead of Japan. Because of this attitude

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of Japan, most of the Chinese students, educated in that country, upon returning home, have not only failed to show friendship for Japan, but on the contrary have often become ring-leaders in movements unfriendly to Japan, such, for instance, as the boycott of Japanese goods. Consequently, Japan has come to regard the Chinese as a most ungrateful people. Yet, little by little, she is making the discovery that Chinese educated in the United States, Great Britain, and other foreign countries, are almost without exception, upon their return to the homeland, loyal friends and advocates of the country in which they were educated. Finally, she is beginning to realize that there is something amiss in her manner of dealing with the Chinese people. The need of China's good will was strongly emphasized during the war by the discovery that the success of Japan's industries was, to a considerable degree, dependent upon her ability to obtain raw material from China. Today, there is a nation-wide move-

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ment in Japan for the promotion of harmonious relationships with China. This is illustrated by the resolutions recently adopted by the entire student bodies of the two leading universities in Japan, requesting the Japanese Government to use the Boxer Fund for the purpose of supporting Chinese students in Japanese institutions of learning; and further, by the fact that prominent Japanese statesmen and business men are constantly crossing the water to China to interview leading men in that but recently despised country. Japan has at last come to a sober realization that friendship is not to be attained through condescension, but that friends must grasp hands on the same level. However, this new and sane attitude bears fruit but slowly, because China, harking back to her long experience with Japanese diplomacy, regards this move in the light of the invitation of the Spider to the Fly. This accounts for the repeated refusal of China to enter into

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negotiations with Japan for the return of Shantung.

When compared with that of Occidental nations, the position of Japan in China is significant. Because of her propinquity, she enjoys tremendous geographical advantages. Such being the case, even the boycott of Japanese goods by the Chinese did not produce expected results. This may be largely attributed to the low economic standard of China, which made it prohibitive for her people to buy goods from Occidental nations, manufactured by high paid workmen and transported long distances. The infant stage of China's industrial work also affected the success of the boycott. Furthermore, the foundations of Japanese trade in China, so strongly laid during the Russo-Japan War when the Chinese showed great sympathy for Japan on the one hand, while on the other they established a nation-wide boycott against the United States because of her treatment of Chinese in this country, could not be en-

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tirely overthrown. Therefore, notwithstanding the general boycott against Japan, the Chinese found it necessary to buy considerable quantities of Japanese goods. One of the things that Japan wants in China is to be able to utilize her geographical situation and her influence already acquired in that country, to the best advantage.

The concessions held by Japan in China are of three kinds: The first concessions were obtained as a result of the Chino-Japan War. By them, persons of other nationalities were permitted to navigate the rivers of China and to establish industrial plants within the confines of her territory. As this concession extended these privileges to persons of all nationalities, it was of benefit to the world at large as well as to Japan.

The second concessions were obtained as a result of the Russo-Japan War, when Japan stepped into the shoes vacated by Russia. By these concessions, special rights were granted to Japan alone, that were not thrown open

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to other nations. As a result, Japan made great national expansion by obtaining territorial leases and special mining and railroad concessions. Out of these concessions, sprang the ill-will of China for Japan.

The third class of concessions consisted in the succession of Japan to the German concessions in Shantung, during the Great War. They were followed by the famous Twenty-one Demands, by means of which Japan gained further political and industrial concessions. This brought the enmity of China to a high pitch.

Today, Japan wants to retain all these concessions in their commercial and industrial aspects only, and to separate them from military and political influence.

Japan's policy regarding Shantung is to return the political control of the peninsula to China and to retain only the mining, railroad, and industrial concessions which China conceded to her under the Twenty-one Demands of 1915. China hesitates to enter into

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direct negotiations with Japan on this subject without the mediation of a third power. However, from present tendencies, it looks as though this question may be settled before the convening of the Disarmament Conference in Washington on November 11th of the present year.

Taking up the question of the Japanese loans to China, we find that some loans have been made by the government, some by banking houses, and others by private corporations. The purpose of these loans was to enable the Chinese Government to build railroads and to develop mining and industrial work. Some of the loans have certain security, such as the customs tariff, the monopoly of the salt industry, and the control of the taxes of certain districts, while others, such as the Nishihara loan, were made without security. Portions of these loans have been used for purposes other than those stipulated. Therefore, on certain loans China is not only unable to pay the interest, but from her finan-

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cial outlook, Japan has come to fear the total loss of both interest and principal. This is the reason why, notwithstanding the fact that Japan at first hesitated to join the Consortium, she eventually joined with the United States, Great Britain and France to further finance China in order to again set her on her feet.

The final question of importance is whether Japan would prefer to have China divided or to remain a united nation. Americans returning from China express widely varying opinions as to what Japan wants on this subject. Some state that Japan wants to see China divided so that she will be greatly weakened, while others hold that Japan wants to have China remain intact, so that she may eventually control the whole. No reliance can be placed in the opinions of the majority of Occidentals coming from the Orient. The opinions of many reflect their personal interests, while others are the product of pure imagination devoid of foundation in fact.

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The larger percentage of Occidentals who live in China and Japan live there in a manner quite different from the way they would live at home. The truth of this is attested by the large numbers of Eurasian children in those countries without legal fathers.[1] Such being the state of affairs, but little weight may be attached to the opinions of many returning from the Orient. Most of these neither read nor speak Chinese to any extent, and because of their character are barred from social circles where trustworthy information might be obtained.

What Japan really wants is a united China, strong politically, financially, and industrially. She wants this not because she has any particular love for China, but for her own benefit. If the whole of China were ruled

[1] In Japan, the loose life of Occidentals reached its climax just before the outbreak of the Chino-Japan War, when one extreme offender was driven from Japan. As his unnatural crime was committed prior to 1899, when, at the instance of Great Britain, the extraterritorial rights and jurisdiction were returned to Japan by all nations, Japan was at the time unable to bring the Occidental before her courts.

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by a single, responsible government, in case of any movement against Japan such as a boycott, Japan would be able to approach the government and effect a conciliation. This desire is strengthened by Japan's newborn ambition to establish a firm friendship with China, in the hope that the two nations will stand together in the future for the welfare of the Orient.

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN KOREA

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CHAPTER IV.

WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN KOREA

INTERNATIONAL relations between Japan and Korea had their beginning in a time so remote that their origin cannot be traced. Although today, Japan is the intellectual leader of Korea, yet in ancient times, her own civilization was developed by Koreans. Korean influence in Japan was felt as early as the 4th century A.D. and was greatly augmented after the introduction of Buddhism in 552, through the medium of Korea. In fact, up to the end of the 7th century, the industrial and intellectual development of Japan was entirely in the hands of Koreans. However, early in the 8th century, Korean influence began to decline and Korea became rather a political dependent of China than the intellectual leader of Japan.

Toward the end of the 16th century, Japan

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sought to invade China. Just as in 1914 Kaiser Wilhelm demanded a road through Belgium, in 1592 the Japanese demanded a road through Korea to China. This the Korean king bravely and resolutely refused to grant. Thereupon Korea became the battleground of the three nations, with Japan ranged against the allied forces of China and Korea. During the seven years of bloody warfare that ensued, Korean industries and arts were entirely wiped out. All movable products of Korean civilization were carried to Japan, and even Korean artists and artisans were forcibly transported thither and compelled to ply their trades in the enemy country. How history has repeated itself in this 20th century in a little European nation! Belgian civilization has, however, survived the shock, but Korea has never shone again in her former splendor. The war in Korea was abruptly terminated by the sudden death from illness of the leader of the Japanese forces.

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In the beginning of the 17th century, Japan, finding herself isolated, begged in humble terms that Korea would make peace with her. In her letter of request, she not only recognized Korea as a dependency of China, but China as the supreme power of the Orient. In the middle of the 19th century, China began to disintegrate and to lose one after another of her dependencies. Taking advantage of this, in 1876, Japan forced Korea to conclude a treaty of peace and amity with her by the terms of which Korea was compelled to declare herself an independent kingdom. This was the entering wedge of Japan's political influence in Korea, which country was later made a Japanese dependency and finally annexed.

The Korean protectorate, the abdication of the Korean Emperor, the annexation, and many other changes were brought about mainly through the strong military influence of Japan, although for appearance sake, most of these things were carried out by the volun-

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tary action of the Koreans. However, Japan was fully cognizant of Korea's dissatisfaction on the one hand, while on the other, she knew the power of her own military backing. Such being the case, since the annexation, the Governor of Korea has been appointed either from among the generals of the army or the admirals of the navy. Although the Korean government is civilian in form, yet the whole control is in the hands of military men. Hence the Japanese government in Korea, to state it mildly, has at least a twofold aspect.

Now in order to gain a better understanding of Korean affairs, let us consider them in some detail since the annexation. It is true that the Koreans did not to any appreciable degree oppose the annexation of their country to Japan in 1910. Even the ruling class remained quiet with the exception of a very few patriots who raised a feeble cry at the loss of national independence. The reason why such an old nation as Korea with

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a history of more than 3,000 years was so peacefully annexed is that the old Korean administration had become hopelessly degenerate and that the people were suffering in an extreme degree. Therefore on the day of annexation, the Korean people were reconciled to the new régime. Their position at that time being so miserable and so hopeless, they felt confident that no nation could possibly give them a worse government than the one they were enduring. The Japanese came to Korea with flattering promises. During the decade that has since elapsed, Japan has given Korea an incomparably better administration. She has introduced all sorts of modern improvements, and has thus made it possible for the ill-fed and ill-clothed Koreans to enjoy the comforts of modern civilization. They not only have better houses to live in, but numbers of Koreans have been able to start savings accounts in the banks. Under the old régime, this latter was almost impossible, because if it

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became known that a man had money, Korean officials under one pretext or another would extract it from him. If he refused to reveal its hiding-place, they would either throw him into prison or take his life. That marvelous improvement has been made is attested by the fact that foreign residents in Korea are perfectly satisfied to live under Japanese jurisdiction.

At the same time, the Japanese have been making a very serious mistake with regard to innovations. They have tried to force every sort of thing down the throats of the Koreans, whether it was palatable or not. For instance, an attempt has been made to substitute the Japanese language for the native tongue. A nation with a history and civilization of its own of so many thousands of years' standing, certainly has treasured traditions, customs and usages. No matter to what state of degeneracy Korea may have been reduced at the time of the annexation, this attempt at radical change is certainly a

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great national insult, particularly when it is remembered that in ancient times Korea was the successful tutor of Japan. Worse than this, after the annexation, educated Japanese flocked to Korea and were appointed to almost all government places of note. Then Japanese merchants, artisans and farmers followed. By utilizing their financial and intellectual power, together with their superior manual skill, these immigrants, under the strong protection of the military power of Japan, gradually encroached along all lines of Korean life and industry. Furthermore, as the government conducts everything in a military way, any Korean offering opposition is punished in accordance with military regulations.

Self-respecting and intelligent Koreans have therefore found it very trying to live in their own country. It is a sad fact that since the annexation more than half a million Koreans have crossed the border into Manchuria and Siberia, on the bleak wastes

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of which they have sought to found new homes. In government circles, race distinction is marked, even with regard to friendly Koreans. Certain government positions are legally open to Koreans. However, should a Korean and a Japanese who have graduated from the same school be appointed to a certain kind of position at the same time, the promotion of the Korean will be exceedingly slow, and after a few years, his position will be both far inferior and less remunerative than that of his Japanese classmate. Thus do Koreans suffer injustice in their own country because they are Koreans. This sort of thing is increasing year by year, and the Japanese administration is becoming more and more militaristic. Koreans have absolutely no means of making their dissatisfaction known to the world outside because they have neither freedom of speech nor of the press. They are forced to live in isolation and under oppression in their own country.

However, the Koreans have not been left

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entirely without comforters to whom they may confidently look for sympathy and aid. Although Korea was the country that introduced both Confucianism and Buddhism into Japan in ancient times, she herself became in the course of time a nation without religion. Many centuries before Japanese influence was felt in Korea, Buddhist priests had been strictly prohibited from entering the Korean capital. In fact, nowhere else in the world could there be found another field so well-cleared and prepared to receive the seed of Christianity as was that of Korea when the Christian missionaries began their work there. Ere long, the religion of Jesus Christ took a strong hold on the hearts of the people. Under the old Korean government régime when corrupt Korean officials perpetrated any injustice upon Christian converts, the missionaries always showed their hand. Not only were they able to obtain justice for the oppressed but they frequently caused offending officials to be reprimanded.

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The missionaries were able to do this because justice was on their side and also because behind them they had the power of a strong home government. Christian missionaries in Korea were therefore in a position to take this unusual course and to show the people that they as missionaries had power over even the Korean officials. After the annexation, the position of the missionaries was entirely changed. They had to obey the Japanese law; they had to be satisfied to place their lives and their property under Japanese jurisdiction; and even their educational institutions, supported by mission boards, had to be reorganized, in order to conform with the Japanese educational code. In all these ways they lost prestige and influence. Therefore, it is very natural that Christian missionaries should be able to sympathize with the Koreans in their present unfortunate circumstances, because they themselves have felt the weight of the strong hand of Japan.

Quite a number of young Koreans, edu-

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cated in Japan and in the United States, have been returning to their native land. Upon seeing the helpless condition of their compatriots, they have not been able to refrain from opposition to the Japanese administration. As a result of the Great War, self-determination for all peoples became extensively advocated. When Korea heard of the creation of Poland and of the state of the Jugo-Slavs, whose peoples had long been under the rule of other nations, and when rumors came of revolts in India, Egypt, and Ireland, the Korean people felt the time opportune to throw off the yoke of Japan. The Korean uprising of March, 1919, resulted. At the time of this outbreak, the Japanese Government made a second most serious mistake. Although termed a revolt, the Korean outbreak of 1919 was extremely unique in character. Among all revolts recorded in history, it has no duplicate. It was a most harmless and peaceable uprising because the Koreans had no military weapons.

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During the period of ten years that had intervened since the annexation, the Japanese had been assiduous in confiscating military weapons of every description. Consequently, at the time of the uprising, the Koreans had nothing with which to fight, except stones and canes. Although tens of thousands of men joined the uprising in various districts, still very few were earnestly fighting for the cause of independence. Most of them merely followed on because they were unhappy. The standard of intelligence in Korea being exceedingly low, most of the people are easily induced to join any cause. Furthermore, the Koreans are very credulous. During the period of the uprising, numbers of people gazed anxiously at the sky, expecting at any moment to see President Wilson descending in an airplane to render them aid. Some of the more thoughtful of the watchers displayed large white flags so that the Chief Executive of the United States might readily discern where to land. This class of people consti-

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tuted the bulk of those who rose against the Japanese administration. Therefore, had the Japanese Government adopted a more gentle and beneficent policy, the people would have been pacified without serious consequence. Instead, the Japanese military administration sent thousands of well-trained soldiers carrying up-to-date military weapons to fight against this child-like, practically harmless mob. Villages were attacked, and several thousand Korean men, women, and children were either killed or wounded.

This Korean uprising was, however, not wholly without result, for through it, the question of the administration of Korea began to engage the attention of the home government in Japan as well as that of the world at large. Today many leading Japanese want to have the government of Korea changed from a military to a purely civil administration. Some prominent political leaders even go so far as to advocate that self-government be permitted to Korea. Since

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the uprising, the educational system has been greatly improved and at present the Japanese Government is planning to establish a university in Korea for the education of Koreans.

During the ten years of Japanese Government in Korea, Japan has shown her hand along many lines, particularly in agriculture and in fishing. Notable also are the introduction of sheep raising and the planting of cotton. Japan wants to make of Korea a place for the production of raw material to supply the industries of Japan. There is, however, one thing that Japan would like to do in Korea but cannot; that is to mine extensively for gold. She is hampered in this by the fact that some time before she obtained a foothold in Korea, American corporations had secured control of most of the principal gold mines in that country. Though the Japanese are working a number of smaller mines, yet the total annual output does not

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compare with that of those under American control.

One of the things that Japan wants most in Korea today is to effect a fusion of the two races. In order to set an example, a Japanese princess of Imperial blood was recently married to the former Crown Prince of Korea. At present, Japan is also revising a law in order to facilitate marriage between Japanese and Koreans. If the proper steps are taken, Japan bids fair to succeed along this line. The fusion is the more likely because the Korean language is the only tongue that is closely related to the Japanese. Furthermore, anthropologists are well-nigh agreed that the two races sprang from the same original stock.

What the future holds in store for Korea is hard to foretell. One thing, however, seems certain. The complete independence of Korea is practically out of the question. Korean history of 3,000 years furnishes the basis for this conclusion. Throughout the

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long period of her existence, Korea has never, for any length of time, been able to stand alone; but has been either a dependency of Japan or of China. Moreover, because of her geographical situation, Japan cannot grant Korea independent self-government, because, as can be readily seen by the map, Korea is strategically of much greater importance to Japan than is Cuba to the United States. One able writer has aptly termed her "an arrow pointed at the heart of Japan." Therefore, should this weak nation, after having become independent, fall prey to a stronger power, the fate of Japan would be sealed.

Although it may sound rather illogical, the most sane solution of the Korean problem would be restoration of the Korean dynasty to the throne under the strong protectorate of Japan. In one way or another, Japan not only wants but is determined to keep Korea under her political control.

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WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN SIBERIA

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CHAPTER V

WHAT JAPAN WANTS IN SIBERIA

If America is the white man's land, Japan would inquire whether Siberia is not the yellow man's land. Though Siberia today constitutes a part of the Russian Empire, yet in order to decide whether Siberia is politically a component part of Russia, one must turn to history. In the 19th century, when China became engaged in wars with France and Great Britain, Russia played the part of a skilful diplomatic broker. As a reward for her good offices, she managed to obtain for herself one slice after another of choice Chinese territory. Later, she made bold to send expeditions further north into Siberia, and finally succeeded in bringing the whole of this great barren waste peopled by Asiatic tribes, under her control. She even occupied

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Sakhalin, the northernmost of the islands of Japan.

With the downfall of the Russian Empire, history nimbly retraced her steps. Japan has reoccupied the whole of Sakhalin Island and has assumed military control both of Vladivostok and an immense region round about. Now that the doors of all Anglo-Saxon nations are closed against her emigrants and she must seek some other outlet for her population, it is but natural that Japan should raise the question whether Siberia may not be the land of the yellow man.

Before the Great War, Vladivostok was one of the three most important military ports on the Asiatic Coast, the others being Kiao-chao and Port Arthur. At present, it is one of the most isolated spots on earth. It is nearly 5,000 miles distant from America, across the Pacific; and under present conditions, it cannot be reached from Europe via the Siberian Railroad. Yet Vladivostok holds the distinction of being today the only quiet,

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peaceful spot in the entire Empire of the late, unfortunate Czar. Though uprisings have occurred several times, whether justifiable or no, they have each time been promptly quelled and the participants therein disarmed by the Japanese troops.

Since the downfall of the Russian Empire, Japan has spent more than one billion yen without benefit to herself because of Siberia. Because of this, and for other reasons, she has finally decided to withdraw her army. After the troops have been recalled and peace has been permanently restored in Siberia, Japan wants to make of Vladivostok an open port similar to Hongkong. Then in course of time, Vladivostok would become a port through which Japan could establish the shortest possible trade route to Europe. Japan feels that the right to establish such a trade route is the smallest reward that she could possibly ask in return for her financial and military efforts.

However, the Japanese are very much

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opposed to the thought of having a Bolshevist government as a neighbor, because this would bring great national trouble. Even today, Bolshevism has already penetrated into Japan and to a limited extent, both men and women have become infected with the doctrines of the Reds. In order to avoid closer proximity, Japan wants to have some independent state established between herself and Bolshevik Russia. This explains why Japan wants all nations to recognize the Far East Republic at Chita in Siberia. She has already sent her representatives to the Chita Government and has entered into negotiations with it regarding numerous concessions in Siberia along the lines of mining, fishing, and industry. Of course, Japan also wants elbow room in Siberia for her surplus population. However, the sending of emigrants either to Siberia or to other countries is not a pressing question with the government just now. Notwithstanding that Japan is one of the most densely populated nations in the world,

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yet this density is not so menacing that the nation cannot maintain its population without seeking an outlet elsewhere. Besides, Japan is today meeting the situation in two ways. First, the nation is rapidly changing from an agricultural to an industrial country. This is evidenced by the fact that the great industrial cities, such as Osaka, Nagoya, and Kobe have increased their population one hundred per cent in the last decade, the main source of supply having been from the country districts. Second, although far from making such practice legal, the Japanese Government has tacitly acquiesced in methods of birth control. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the leading magazines published in Japan contain numerous advertisements along these lines. Yet, the government shows no hand. Therefore, though Japan wants some space on the Asiatic Continent for future expansion, for the present, at least, she is able to cope with the problem of population.

A more vital question is where she will

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be able to obtain a constant supply of raw materials for her rapidly-growing industries. Manufacturing is fast becoming in Japan, as it has long been in England, the mainstay of the nation. Because the natural resources of Japan are very limited, what Japan wants most is assurance of permanent sources of supply of raw material. China is, of course, an inexhaustible mine, but at the same time this mine is being worked by all nations and even China herself, with her millions of laborers, is beginning to manufacture on an unprecedented scale. Siberia, on the other hand, is both thinly populated and practically unexploited. Moreover, this vast country lies just across the Sea of Japan and from its geographical propinquity would seem to be the natural source of raw material.

Therefore, although war between Japan and the United States, according to the present outlook, seems well-nigh impossible, still none can say with assurity that permanent peace can long be maintained between the

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two nations. However, if war should come, the cause thereof will not be the Japanese question in the United States, but rather with regard to some situation in the Orient itself. Japan might take up arms should the United States adopt some policy that would stand in the way of Japan in obtaining raw materials from China or Siberia. Interference of this sort would threaten not only the sources of the national prosperity of Japan, but even her very existence.

What Japan wants to do in Siberia at present is first to develop the natural resources of that country and utilize them in supplying material for Japanese industries, and later, perhaps, to send immigrants thither. Finally, Japan wants to make of the Sea of Japan a Japanese inland sea, just as the ancient Romans made a Roman sea of the Mediterranean in the time of the Roman Empire. From a Japanese standpoint, such an undertaking is a natural one. The Sea of Japan is closed on the south by a very narrow chan-

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nel known as the Straits of Korea, which is Japanese water today. On the north, there is but a narrow strip of water between the mainland and Sakhalin Island. This may be crossed in small boats. To the east, lies the chain of Japanese islands, and to the west, stretch the coasts of Korea and Siberia. Through this sea, Japan might obtain two approaches to Europe, one through the Korean port of Fusan, and the other through Vladivostok. Expansion into Siberia would, therefore, be more natural and more profitable than the sending of immigrants across the Pacific to distant lands. In this way also, Japan would be spared the embarrassment of coming into unpleasant conflict with Occidental nations.

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CHAPTER VI

WHAT JAPAN WANTS AT HOME

FROM the date of her national foundation up to quite recent times, Japan has been an ardent admirer of "Things Chinese." For approximately three centuries, Yedo, present Tokyo, was the seat of the last Shogunate Government. Situated on the seashore, about three miles west of this capital, there is a small town called Shinagawa. In those days, many prominent scholars preferred Shinagawa to Yedo as a place of residence because, as they explained, the latter was three miles nearer to the center of civilization, which was China. The re-opening of the country by Commodore Perry in 1854, marked the beginning of a great change in Japanese ideals. In a surprisingly short time Japan was transformed through the eager haste of her people to adopt Occidental civilization,

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while ruthlessly discarding everything Oriental, Japanese art and even the study of Japanese history, not excepted.

As Occidental civilization spread, new customs and new methods took root. Japan became so changed that even Occidental forms of military organization and civil administration were adopted and developed. Finally, in 1890, a constitutional form of government, based on Western principles, replaced the old monarchical form.

Thus did Japan devote a period of about forty years to reconstruction and domestic development. Her policy during that time may be compared to that of the United States prior to the Spanish-American War, when the latter strictly adhered to the letter of the Monroe Doctrine and took no part in international affairs beyond the confines of the American continents. Though Japan made wonderful progress at home during this period of internal development, still, prior to 1894, she was comparatively unknown to the

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world. Her success in the war against China made her a recognized power. However, she was merely an Asiatic power until 1905, when the defeat of Russia caused her to be recognized as a world power. Yet, for another decade, she bore but an empty title, and it was not until the close of the Great War in 1918 that she was able to take a hand in settling questions of world import. Thus, in the brief space of 64 years did Japan rise from an unknown Oriental nation to a leading world power. Still Japan today is in no position to rest upon her laurels and congratulate herself upon success achieved, for she is now entering upon one of the most critical periods of her history. Whether she will be able to maintain her present position or whether she will again become a second-rate nation depends largely upon how she meets the various and perplexing problems now before her.

The most vital of her domestic questions

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is to what degree the principle of democracy should be adopted in Japan. Both government and people want to have the nation far more democratic, though the government is more cautious and less radical than are the people as a whole. However, none can deny that the nation is permeated with the principles of democracy. This is evidenced by the fact that up to some fifty years ago, the Emperor and the Imperial Family were reputed to be direct descendants of the gods, many of the common people really believing that the Emperor was a personage of such transcendent glory that one would lose his eyesight should he look upon the face of his majesty. Because of this, the Imperial Family and the Court Nobles were formerly called "Cloud Men" because they were so high above the people that it was impossible to reach them. Although with the progress of the nation, this idea has gradually been dissipated, still it obtained to some degree up

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to the time of the Great War.[1] At the time when the present Emperor, Yoshihito, was Crown Prince, he made a personal visit to Korea. The Japanese people regarded this as a great departure, as it was the first time that any heir of the Imperial Family had ever left the confines of the homeland. If one compare this little journey with the tour of Europe by the present Crown Prince, who not only interviews newspaper correspondents, but on one occasion even went in person to a jewel merchant to select a handsome necklace as a gift to his mother, we can readily imagine to what extent even the Imperial Family itself has been affected by democratic ideas.

Though successful in a measure, and apparently quite aggressive in the eyes of Occidentals, Japan's foreign policy is a prolific

[1] It was not unusual for stern military men like Yamagata and Oyama, or even the up-to-date politician, Prince Ito, to shed tears of gratitude when the Emperor spoke words of gratitude regarding the service they had rendered.

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source of dissatisfaction in the homeland. Since the modern Japanese Government was founded, no man holding the Portfolio as Minister of Foreign Affairs has been popular during his incumbency, although such men as Matsu and Komura have, since their demise, been regarded as astute diplomats. The people clamor continually for the government to adopt a firmer and more strenuous foreign policy.

The unpopularity of the foreign policy may be attributed to the fact that Japan is never free from controversy with other nations. In the first place, for a period of about forty years, ending in 1894,[1] Japan made a series of unsuccessful attempts to revise her treaties with Occidental nations, with a view to effect the abolition of extra-territorial rights and the restoration of her

[1] In 1894, England agreed to so revise her treaty of Commerce and Amity as to restore to Japan her customs rights and to surrender extraterritorial rights. However, it took several years for Japan to obtain similar revisions of her treaties with the other nations. The revised treaties did not become operative until 1899.

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customs tariff rights. Each failure elicited stormy protests from the people. Then, when in 1895, after the successful termination of the Chino-Japan War, the Japanese Government was forced to return the Liao-tung peninsula to China, the people were almost beside themselves with indignation. Again, in 1905, after the defeat of Russia, when the people found that the government had weakly surrendered, from their point of view, the anticipated indemnity, they broke into riot and even the capital city of Tokyo was, for several days, practically in the hands of the mob with the government unable to regain control. When, after the Great War, Japanese diplomats failed to carry their point with regard to race equality as well as several other points in which the people were interested, another count was added to the unpopularity of the Department of Foreign Affairs. It is possible that the high-handed policy of the famous Twenty-one Demands, though probably not exactly what the people

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wanted, was adopted by the government in order to regain the confidence of the people. In other words, China became the goat.

Ever since Japan adopted a constitutional form of government in 1890, the people have clamored for the extension of the franchise. As late as up to the end of the Great War, Japanese adult males who paid an annual direct tax of five dollars or more were the only persons entitled to vote at national elections. From an Occidental standpoint, a five-dollar direct tax is exceedingly small. However, this was not the case in Japan, when viewed from the economic standpoint of that time. Because of this limitation, only about one and one-half millions out of a population of fifty millions were entitled to cast a ballot. The present members of the House of Representatives were elected under this system of franchise. In fact, the so-called constitutional government of Japan has long been in control of the moneyed class. Because, after the Great War, democracy became the

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common slogan of the people, in 1919 the Japanese Government reduced the amount of the tax required to $1.50. Under this new arrangement, about seven million men now have the right to vote. However, the Japanese people as a whole are still dissatisfied, and demand unrestricted popular franchise. Although the government has shown some inclination to accede to the popular demand, at the same time the government cannot see why the new system of franchise should be abandoned without having been given a single test. Whether to grant an unrestricted franchise is one of the great questions of the day in Japan, because expenses of election campaigns in Japan are beginning to rival those in the United States. The number of voters being limited, it is possible for candidates to purchase votes. Though strictly prohibited by law, this practice is difficult to detect and control. The granting of an unrestricted popular franchise is strongly advocated by many Japanese on the ground that

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it would not only be the just thing to do but that it would go far toward eliminating bribery in elections. Opponents of the unrestricted franchise urge, on the other hand, that the intellectual condition of the masses of the people has not yet reached a standard that would make the unlimited franchise feasible. At any rate, one of the things at home that Japan wants most earnestly is an extension of the franchise.

As in other nations, the Labor Question in Japan is daily becoming more grave and more perplexing. Prior to the outbreak of the Great War, however, open conflict between Capital and Labor was a thing unheard of in Japan. This was due to the fact that up to that time, the employer was the master, whose duty it was to protect, and the employe was the servant, whose duty it was to obey. In consequence, a fixed wage in each trade was scarcely possible. Such organizations as labor unions did not exist; in fact, they were practically prohibited by an article

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in one of the laws. As a rule, employers raised wages to correspond with the increase in the cost of living. This, however, was done voluntarily and was regarded by employes as an act of kindness. Although strikes were not entirely unknown in these pre-war days, the cause of a strike might generally be traced to ill-treatment of workers by their foremen, rather than to the wage question. Since the Great War, conditions have entirely changed. During the war Japan became one of the world's centers of supply. Factories sprang up like mushrooms and, in consequence, workers became very scarce. Naturally labor rose to a position of power and importance and wages soared. One strike followed another in the process of wage adjustment. With the close of the war and the gradual restoration of industries in war-torn countries, Humpty Dumptywise, Japanese foreign trade took a great fall. One factory after another closed its doors and the principal industrial cities teemed with

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the unemployed. For a time, there were no more strikes in Japan. Yet, because the cost of living did not descend with the shortage of work, labor became desperate, and the means of obtaining a livelihood became a life and death question. At the same time, with the introduction of Occidental ideas, Japanese laborers learned of the eight-hour law and of improved working conditions. Consequently, riots of the unemployed and strikes in which the workers demanded an eight or even a six-hour law have become frequent in manufacturing cities. Sometimes many thousands of laborers have marched the streets in a body and have fought with the police. In extreme cases, laborers have driven off the managers and overseers of factories, and, in imitation of what has been done in Italy and in other parts of Europe, have attempted to run the plants themselves. The conflict between labor and capital in Japan today is therefore something undreamt of a year ago.

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As a nation, Japan wants to solve the problem in some reasonable way. However, the Japanese laborer is rather a man of all trades than a specialist in any one. Furthermore, he fails to differentiate between his own time and that of his employer. For example, the Japanese carpenter, while at work, not only smokes and talks, but files his saw and sharpens his tools on his employer's time. It never occurs to him that he ought to have sharpened them before coming to work. During the afternoon, he sits down and has tea and cake. Consequently, four Japanese carpenters working eleven or twelve hours a day barely accomplish as much as do two American carpenters in an eight-hour day. Such being the condition, should the Japanese labor leaders, afflicted with a smattering of Occidental knowledge, who are inciting the people to demand an eight or a six-hour day, be successful and attain their ends, it would spell disaster to

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Japanese industry.[1] Before making such demands it is imperative that laborers change their methods entirely. If they are to work but eight hours, they should come prepared to actually work and accomplish something. The foregoing offers some explanation of why, when difficulties arise between labor and capital, the Japanese Government almost invariably protects the capitalist even to the extent of calling out the troops in the event of the police being unable to cope with the situation. Although this attitude of the government is both criticized by progressive Japanese and denounced by Occidental labor unions, yet, for the time being, it is the only policy that can be wisely pursued. Labor, however, is steadily gaining in many respects.

Though at present, Japan does not rival

[1] Conditions in Japan cannot be evaluated upon an Occidental basis. To illustrate, the city of Tokyo is probably the most expensive place in the world to live, if one lives in Occidental style. At the same time, in the municipal restaurant at Tokyo, a workingman with a good appetite can get a meal of all the rice, fish, vegetables, and tea he wants for ten sen (a nickel in U. S. money).

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the United States, either industrially or commercially, however, taking advantage of her geographical situation, she wants to expand along these lines in China and in other Far Eastern countries. If proper steps be taken, ere long, Japan will outrival the United States in these lines. It is a well-known fact that, from the foundation of the Empire, Japan has been an agricultural nation, but, as already stated, she is rapidly changing from an agricultural to an industrial nation. Yet, by the skilful adoption of modern methods, her agricultural products have been tremendously increased. Nevertheless, like England, she realizes that sufficient cannot be produced on her own soil to feed her population. Therefore, she wants to apply the modern agricultural methods adopted in the homeland, to the soils of China, Korea, and Manchuria. Being a race that cannot exist without rice, the Japanese have even introduced their methods of rice cultivation into Texas and California. At present, there

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is a movement in Japan to import rice from California.

Occidentals greatly misunderstand Japan's attitude toward the question of disarmament. Even today, several months prior to the opening of the Disarmament Conference, Japan has already taken steps along this line. That is, the government has announced that the naval force will be reduced one-fifth, the same to take effect on September 1, 1921. However, Japan does not purpose to be a nation entirely unprepared for war. As a method of precaution, the government has made it compulsory for all students, beginning with the seventh grade, to take as a required subject, six years of military training, of a character similar to that being given in most of the State Universities in the United States. There is also a strong movement in Japan to extend this military training to students in the Government Universities and even to those of private universities and colleges, by contributing toward the budgets of

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such institutions. Furthermore, students in all marine and nautical schools are trained in naval science.

Because of Japan's system of subsidizing shipping, all the large ships belonging to private companies would be immediately placed at the disposal of the government for transport purposes in event of war. Consequently, according to Japan's plan of disarmament, in times of peace, the whole nation, with the exception of the regular standing army and navy, is engaged in peaceful occupations, while in time of war, it may, within a few months, be transformed into a fighting unit. Should the limitation of armament be satisfactorily effected, Japan would be greatly benefited thereby. The major portion of the annual expense of the standing army and navy (about 60% of the entire income of the nation) would then be available for educational, commercial and industrial purposes. At the same time, Japan would practically become a country in which

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every man was a trained soldier. To a certain extent, this would also hold true of the United States.

The question of religion is among those that trouble Japan most. After Buddhism was introduced in the middle of the 6th century, it practically became the national religion. After the introduction of Catholicism in 1548, it became wide-spread, and continued to be a powerful religion for nearly a century. When, in 1638, Japan entered upon a period of seclusion, the nation nominally became thoroughly Buddhistic. In order to be a Japanese subject at that time, it was essential that one be a Buddhist. When Japan was re-opened to the world, the government tacitly consented to the re-introduction of Christianity. Ere long, Protestant as well as Catholic missionaries were at work in Japan. Although nearly three-quarters of a century has since elapsed, the propagation of the doctrines of Christianity has made but slow progress. In 1918, the total number of

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Christians in Japan proper, including Catholics, Protestants, the Salvation Army, the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A., and all other Christian organizations, reached only 188,239, which is less than four-tenths of one per cent of the population. In the same year, the total number of Buddhist priests was 125,525; and the number of Shinto priests was 70,537. Thus the Buddhist and Shinto priests taken together far outnumbered the Christian converts. Even today, Japan is nominally a Buddhistic nation. From the standpoint of numerical strength, Christianity is indeed a negligible element. Yet, in actual working power, it has proven far otherwise. None can deny that at present in Japan, a surprisingly large number of the men in political, educational, commercial, and industrial activities are native Christians. Furthermore, Christianity is gaining in strength year by year. Yet, judging from past experience and from present prospects,

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the conversion of Japan into a Christian nation seems all but hopeless.

At the same time, to think of Japan as a Buddhistic nation is misleading. Japan has long been indifferent to religion. Nevertheless, the hearts of the people are restless within them and are yearning today for religion. What sort of religion Japan will eventually adopt is a hard question. The old system of Japanese ethical teaching has been weighed in the balance and found wanting. While the portrait of the Emperor is still placed in every public school, and the children are taught to reverence it as a sacred object, this semi-patriotic religion is steadily losing ground; for democracy and blind loyalty cannot long dwell together.

Although Japan does not make the Christian missionaries entirely unwelcome, yet she is somewhat dissatisfied with the present missionary system. The collection of a few cents apiece from Sunday school children for mission work in foreign countries, includ-

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ing Japan, gives those children the impression that Japan ranks with Africa, Turkey, and the South Sea Islands. This is indeed humiliating to Japan. Every nation has a dark side to her national life. When soliciting funds in their homelands, returned missionaries frequently present only the more wretched aspects of Japanese life. Therefore, while the Japanese are glad to receive preachers who come to Japan on their own account or on money donated by men of wealth, it is embarrassing to have missionaries sent to them on money collected in the churches according to present methods. Japan today is the center of education in the Far East. Students come to her from China, India, Russia, and even from the Philippines. During the high tide of the boycott, the number of Chinese students was reduced to but a fraction of normal; still more than 3,000 remained in Japan. Therefore, as far as education is concerned, the schools conducted under the auspices of the mission

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boards are quite unnecessary. Though Japan welcomes funds donated by foreigners, what she wants is to have her own Christian churches and her own Christian schools supported by her own people, and independent of foreign mission boards. Some progress has already been made along this line, notably by the Methodists.

In Japan, as in most other nations, females constitute almost half of the population. Therefore, to define the status of woman and to determine upon a suitable method of marriage are among the things that Japan wants to do today. The status of woman has undergone great vicissitudes since the foundation of the Empire. In the primitive period, although the Japanese woman recognized a species of plural marriage as the right of her husband, because of the national necessity of perpetuating the family line, yet at that time woman in Japan had far greater freedom and incomparably more rights than did women on the Asiatic continent. It was not unusual in

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time of war for the army to be divided into two parts; one commanded by the husband, the other by the wife.

However, through the contact of the Japanese with people from the continent, and especially with the introduction of Confucianism and later of Buddhism, woman gradually lost her prestige. Finally, when Japan entered upon the Feudal period, at the end of the 12th century, woman lost practically all her rights and privileges. She was kept secluded from the outside world and looked upon merely as a chattel in the home of her husband. When a castle was stormed, it was the common practice, during the darker period of Feudalism, for the women taken captives to be divided along with the other spoils among the victors. Even in the more enlightened period of Feudalism, woman was a being whose duty it was to be faithful and obedient to her husband. She was expected to obey his command, no matter what it might be. Moreover, she was frequently

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handed from one husband to another without her wishes being considered. It was quite common for an Emperor or a Feudal lord to give his concubine to a civil or a military officer in recognition of efficient service. On one occasion in making a gift of this sort, an Emperor said, "I am about to present you with a beautiful woman who, within a few months, is to become a mother. If the child is a girl, I will take it. If it is a boy, you must adopt him and make him your successor." On another occasion, a famous general learned that the Emperor had a very beautiful woman named Iris among his concubines. Therefore he determined to render some distinguished service with a view to obtain her. Finally, he succeeded, and the Emperor consented to give him the woman. When he came for her, the Emperor lined up a dozen beautiful women, among whom was Iris, and told him that if he was able to pick her out he might have her. The general then composed a poem which he sang

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before them saying, "All the ladies before me are as beautiful as the Iris flower. Poor I, amazed by beauty, have lost the sense of judgment and cannot tell which is the real Iris." Thereupon, Iris smiled and blushed, and the general ran up and claimed her.

Throughout the Feudal period, woman was trained to render every possible service to her husband, even to the point of ignoring her own existence. About the close of the 16th century a decisive battle was to be fought. A young general who had a loving wife returned home just before starting to the front, to bid her good-by. Soon after he reached the military camp, he received a letter from his wife. Coming within such a short time after the interview, it greatly surprised him. Upon opening it, he read, "Our two brief years of married life have been a dream of joy. You have been so kind and thoughtful and gentle. Today, you again made me happy by coming to tell me that you were going to battle, possibly to die

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bravely and to reflect glory upon the name of your family. However, after you had left me, I had a fear that my husband might let his thoughts linger upon me, a poor, helpless woman, to be left alone in the world. Lest such thoughts should prove a stumbling block in your path to glory, and in order that I may not stand in your way, I am now about to put an end to my life. Therefore, when this letter reaches you, I shall no longer be in this world, but shall be awaiting your coming to join me in the future life."

In those times, the Japanese girl was trained to believe that she had been born into this world for the sole purpose of becoming a wife. Marriage was regarded as much a matter of course as birth or death. After marriage, woman had to respectfully and devotedly serve her husband as well as her parents-in-law, to whom she owed unquestioning obedience. In case a marriage should prove unhappy, there was no means of securing a divorce through the courts or any other

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government agency. The sole authority to write a letter of divorce resided in the husband. In case of his refusal, the wife was obliged to remain with him. Therefore, during the 16th century, a sympathetic and influential woman obtained permission from the government to establish a nunnery with the understanding that if any woman, unhappily married, should seek refuge in that nunnery and spend three years of pure life there, at the expiration of that time, she should be free. This solitary nunnery constituted the only means in all Japan of a woman's securing a divorce without the consent of her husband.

These conditions persisted until 1873, at which time the government adopted, to some extent, the Western idea of permitting a woman to get a divorce through the court, providing her father or other male relative present her case. Since this step was taken, Japanese women have gradually gained further rights. Since the Chino-Japan War,

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because of economic changes and the need of industrial workers, woman has become an important factor in industry. Also with the advance of education and through contact with Occidentals, her position has been further elevated. In 1899, when the Japanese Government promulgated a civil code, woman was given equal rights with man in the matter of divorce. However, a double standard of morality is still recognized. If the wife be proven immoral, or even if there be strong ground for suspicion, it constitutes sufficient ground for divorce. On the other hand, the wife may not secure a divorce provided her husband supports her, no matter with how many other women he may have relations. This condition obtains at present.

As to education, in so far as intellectual education is concerned, the government provides six years of elementary education and four years of secondary education for girls. Although there are a fair number of colleges and other higher schools for women, they

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are all private institutions. With the exception of a limited number of professional schools, the government itself has established no higher schools for women. Since the Great War, however, there has been a marked change, both government and people having emphasized higher education for women. Leading private universities have adopted co-education, and the government is at present planning to introduce a co-educational system into its universities.

Since the Great War, also, marriage and divorce have been carried to extremes. Some women protest the right to propose marriage; others even advocate free love. There is also a movement among women to have the government rule that a sort of alimony shall be granted by the courts to divorced women. A demand is, moreover, being made by women that the Eugenic Law should be applicable to man only and not to members of their sex. They are even planning to get a law enacted by which, unless a man shall have provided

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himself with a health certificate at the time of his marriage, he cannot thereafter claim to be legally married. The pendulum, having swung to such extreme, the people of Japan, earnestly desire to have the relationships of the sexes clearly and sanely defined, and strictly regulated by law.

Although Japan today is thus entering upon a really serious period of transition along many lines, those familiar with her history, basing their conclusions upon the past, predict that she will come out victor. The development of Japan has been effected by the adoption of ideas borrowed from foreign civilizations:

First, by the introduction of civilization from Korea in the primitive period.

Second, by the introduction of Chinese civilization in the 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries.

Third, by the introduction of Occidental civilization through America in the 19th century, when Japan became modernized

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and was enabled to take her place among the great nations of the world.

Fourth, by the introduction of newly-created radical ideas since the Great War.

Each transition has involved struggle; Japan is now battling with the foam-capped waves of the latter. In the past, however, no other nation has succeeded in so effectively amalgamating foreign civilizations with her own. Because Japan has emerged triumphant from each preceding transition, even though the present adjustment may cover a period of some years, there is ample reason to be optimistic with regard to the ultimate outcome.

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CHAPTER VII

WHAT JAPAN AND OTHER NATIONS SHOULD DO

JAPAN is today one of the members of the Supreme Council of the League of Nations and is entitled to express her opinion with regard to even purely European questions. Furthermore, her acceptance of the invitation of the United States to be represented at the Disarmament Conference was a matter of great weight. While she is to be congratulated upon her rapid rise, at the same time none can deny that today Japan is in a very precarious condition both diplomatically and with regard to domestic questions. Soon after becoming a member of the family of nations in the middle of the 19th century, she undertook to reorganize her army and navy and place them upon an Occidental basis. The success of her efforts in military

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lines is attested by her attainments in the Chino-Japan War, the Boxer Uprising, the Russo-Japan War, and in the Great World War. However, much of the credit for her marvelously rapid rise is due to her methods of diplomacy.

While of interest to Occidentals, Oriental diplomacy, like Oriental life and civilization, is hard to understand. Unless Occidentals be conversant with Oriental history, usages, and methods of thought, they cannot comprehend the purposes and intents of Orientals. Both Japan and China have twofold purposes in their diplomacy. Moreover, both nations have well-organized systems of propaganda in Occidental countries. Because of this, Occidentals who lack a knowledge of Oriental history or who have obtained but a fragmentary knowledge of the Orient through the reading of magazine articles or of books published by propagandists, are easily misled.

For many centuries, because of their geo-

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graphical situation, there has been a more or less continual interchange of thought and culture between China and Japan. Consequently, one who would understand the diplomacy of Japan, should study it in the light of that of China. This holds especially at present, because the Far Eastern question largely concerns China. Moreover, in order to comprehend the Korean, Manchurian, or Shantung questions, one must inquire into the diplomatic policies of China as well as of those of Japan. Both of these nations employ dual systems of diplomacy.

When China has difficulty with an Oriental nation, her first step is to delay negotiations as long as possible. While thus dodging a settlement of the question in hand, she skilfully maneuvers to gain the sympathy, or if possible, the assistance of a far-off nation. Therefore "Yuan Chiao Chin Kung" are familiar traditional terms in China. This expression may be translated, "Cultivate the friendship of a distant nation in order to

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get the better of a nation nearby." The most masterful piece of work accomplished in accordance with this method of diplomacy was that of Li Hung Chang, when, at the close of the Chino-Japan War, China as a humble and defeated nation, signed the Shimonoseki treaty, by which she acceded to the demands of Japan and made many concessions. At the same time, by his unparalleled diplomatic tactics, Li Hung Chang brought about the interference of three European nations and thus compelled Japan to hand back her chief prize, viz., the Liao-tung peninsula.

If one closely studies the Shantung question, he cannot fail to note the activity of the Chinese in the United States. In this connection also, China is well able to pursue this line of diplomacy. In the first place, the aggressive policy of Japan is a much-discussed question in Occidental nations. On the other hand, China's helpless condition readily arouses sympathy, particularly in the United

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States, where it is characteristic of the government as well as of individuals to help the under-dog. China, for the past few years, has been a veritable under-dog, because without exception, she has gotten the worst of it in all her dealings with Japan. Jealousy is a fault common to both men and nations. Japan, which was a submissive and obedient pupil of the United States up to a quarter of a century ago, has gradually risen to be a strong nation. Though mistakenly so, many Americans look upon her as a rival of the United States. As magnanimous as is the United States, certain of her statesmen cannot help but regard Japan with suspicion. Therefore, China has found in this country a rich field for her diplomatic policy.

Now as to the Shantung question; in 1915 China signed the Twenty-one Demands of Japan. Then when the Peace Conference convened in 1919, she unleashed all sorts of wild propaganda in the United States. For instance, "The Outlook" printed an author-

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ized statement of Mr. Wong, the Chinese delegate to the Peace Conference, in which he said that according to the Shantung agreement in the Peace Treaty, Japan would practically enslave 40,000,000 Chinese in Shantung province. He further stated that the Japanese might train these Chinese in military tactics and thus create a strong army which would bring great menace to the world. Now let us see how so fantastic a statement was accepted by prominent Americans. So brilliant and keen a statesman as Senator Hiram Johnson made the following statement in an address before an audience of several thousand people, on October 3, 1919, in the Shrine Auditorium, Los Angeles, California. "With the consent of the United States, 60,000,000 Japanese have annexed 40,000,000 Chinese and China's richest province." So ill-founded a statement was made in spite of the fact that about the same time President Wilson was in San Francisco explaining the real nature of the Shantung

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question and basing his statements upon a scholarly and historical background.

When Japan received an invitation from President Harding to attend the Disarmament Conference at Washington, she misunderstood the real attitude of the United States, mainly because of the wild rhetorical attacks made in the United States Senate with regard to the Shantung question. Next had come the Yap question. Close upon the heels of this came the invitation to attend the Disarmament Conference. From the Japanese point of view, this was the beginning of an extension of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States to the Far East. Although at first there was great suspicion and nervousness in Japan, the sky has since cleared, and the frankness and sincerity of President Harding are beginning to be appreciated. Therefore, Japan has now gladly accepted the invitation and is planning to take an active part in the conference. Because she desires to appear at the conference

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with "clean hands," she has undertaken to effect a settlement of the Shantung question to the satisfaction of China, and has made known her intention to withdraw her troops from Siberia. She is, moreover, desirous of making some compromise with the United States on the Yap question before the opening of the conference. However, because Japanese diplomacy has not changed its hue, it is possible that the Japanese delegates may summarily withdraw from the Conference in case something detrimental to the interest of Japan in the Far East is done.

Japan, like China, has a dual system of diplomacy that far outrivals hers, though it is of an entirely different type. With the Orient, Japan uses her hands and feet; with the Occident, her head. When Japan deals with Occidental nations, she is careful, courteous, and compromising, while at the same time she closely guards her own interests. Sometimes she even goes to the extreme of bowing low and evincing great humility.

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This is well-exemplified in the Gentlemen's Agreement with the United States, by the terms of which Japan not only agreed to refuse to issue passports to either skilled or unskilled laborers desiring to migrate to the United States, but even went so far as to apply the same restriction to Mexico, for fear that laborers landing in that country might cross the border. Later, when American statesmen complained that Japanese were crossing the border from Mexico into the United States, the Japanese Government voluntarily issued strict instructions to Japanese representatives in South American countries to discontinue the endorsement of passports of Japanese desiring to go to Mexico. She further instructed all steamship companies not to sell tickets to Japanese desiring to return to Japan from South America, provided they wanted to stop in Mexico. Notwithstanding the fact that Japan has assumed a humble, compromising attitude, she, at the same time left a large-sized loophole through

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which, in spite of the fact that the Japanese Government has adhered strictly to the letter of the agreement, female laborers have been constantly entering the United States.

Japanese agricultural laborers on the Pacific Coast furnished the motif for the Gentlemen's Agreement. At the time of the drafting of this agreement, the Japanese Government was cognizant of the fact that in Japan, woman, whether married or single, constitutes an important element in agricultural labor.[1] Therefore the Japanese Government has reason to class a woman marrying a Japanese agriculturist in California as a laborer, and passports ought not to be furnished to such. Notwithstanding this, when

[1] In Japan, rice is more than a staple. It has been a custom from time immemorial to observe a festival known as the Mitauye Matsuri, at all the important Shinto shrines. This is a festival for the planting of rice in the sacred field that belongs to the shrine. The planting is all done by maidens. Likewise, in the actual fields of Japan in the season of the rice planting, the work is almost all done by women, married or unmarried. In the ceremony of this spring festival, woman is unmistakably regarded as a laborer.

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Japanese residing in the Pacific Coast States, whether laborers or no, desire to get brides from Japan, the Japanese Government readily provides the women with passports. After landing in America, these wives both bear children and work in the fields. While their babies are still infants in arms they frequently put them down in the field beside them and resume their work. Such being the condition, contrary to the expectations of Americans on the Pacific Coast, Japanese laborers have greatly increased in number.

From this arose the Picture Bride question in 1920. In this instance again, the Japanese Government apparently made voluntary concessions and promised to issue no more passports to women desiring to come to the United States to marry Japanese laborers. Therein again was left a loophole, for the Japanese Government did not promise to refuse to issue passports to the United States to women whom Japanese laborers should return to Japan and marry. There-

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fore, Japanese agriculturists and others have hit upon the plan of purchasing round-trip tickets to Japan and returning to America with their brides. This method is operative at present, and the question of the influx of Japanese female laborers is again engaging the serious attention of Californians. At the time of this writing the Japanese are bringing almost as many brides into the United States as came before the stopping of the Picture Brides.[1]

If Japan desires to retain the respect and confidence of the United States, she should refrain from issuing a passport to any woman desiring to emigrate to the United States unless it can be clearly proven that her prospective husband has sufficient means to sup-

[1] "The Japanese American," published in San Francisco, March 3, 1921, contained an account of an interview with Mr. White, Chief of the Immigration Bureau in San Francisco, in which he said, "The steamer that has just arrived from Japan brought forty newly-married Japanese women. This number is about the same as the average when Picture Brides were permitted to come. This is to be explained by the fact that the Japanese are now going to Japan and bringing wives back with them."

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port her as a wife, without requiring her to labor outside of the home. For the purpose of deciding to whom passports should be issued, the income tax records of the United States might, perhaps, be utilized. For instance, the Japanese Government might refuse to issue passports to women who have the intention of marrying Japanese, returning from America for the purpose of matrimony, unless the income of the would-be husband for the three years preceding had averaged, say, $2,000. Should some such method, together with those suggested in Chapter I of this treatise, be adopted by the United States, all loopholes in so far as immigration is concerned, would be effectively plugged. At any rate, in a broad sense, Japanese immigration has already been practically stopped. Therefore, movements in the United States for the exclusion of Japanese, in which so many prominent men are taking part, not only invite the ill-will of Japan, but at the

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same time cause great misunderstandings among Americans.

Such acts as the recent forcible deportation in the night of Japanese laborers from Turlock, California, which had it not been for the prompt action of both the State and the Federal governments would have brought serious trouble between Japan and the United States, may be traced to American misunderstanding of agitation for exclusion. Certain senators have fostered a movement in California for the putting up of signs, "No Japanese Welcome Here." In consequence, the common people have naturally come to regard it as their prerogative to forcibly throw out Japanese employed in their vicinity. It seems unfortunate that the entire question of Japanese exclusion should not be left wholly in the hands of the Federal Government.

Retaliation, divorced from the idea of revenge, is doubtless one of the best methods of solving international difficulties, especially

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of the sort that arise between Japan and the United States. For instance, the recently-enacted Foreign Language School Law in California, though there is room for improvement, seems to approximate the ideal. By this law, California requires that all teachers in Foreign Language Schools have a fair knowledge of the English language and of American History. It further provides that classes shall not be held in session for more than one hour per day, six days per week. In contrast to this, many Foreign Language Schools are conducted by foreigners in Japan who know little or nothing either of the language or the history of Japan, and who are in nowise controlled by Japanese law. For example, an English Language School was recently organized in Yokohama with a fund contributed both by foreigners and Japanese. When the school building had been completed and the school opened, it was not only run full school hours by American and English teachers, but Japanese

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children and those born between Japanese and foreign parents were refused admission.

Another example of a case in which the principle of retaliation would be effective in smoothing over difficulties concerns the land that formerly constituted the foreign settlements. This land is held, leased, transferred, and inherited without the payment of any fees to the Japanese Government except a very nominal land tax. Recently, foreigners residing in these districts have bitterly complained to the Japanese Government of the inefficiency of the police system in those parts. This scarcity of police may be accounted for by lack of revenue from those districts, the rate having been fixed in 1878.

While the Japanese in the United States apparently obey the law, they at the same time ferret out all possible loopholes for getting some advantage. Foreigners in Japan, on the other hand, particularly the English-speaking people, are high-handed and seek to make themselves masters. Consequently,

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it might help to straighten things out if both the Japanese and the United States Governments should be in perfect accord and should adopt similar sets of laws to be applied to the people of either in the country of the other.

Then should residents of either country find the regulations inconvenient, all they would have to do would be to complain to their home government. Thereupon, through international negotiation, the laws might be so modified as to satisfy all concerned.

If we compare Japan's Occidental species of diplomacy, as illustrated by the Gentlemen's Agreement, with that of Japan in Asia, he can readily see that she pursues two distinct lines of diplomatic tactics; one in the Occident, the other in the Orient. In case of necessity in the Orient, whether Japan be right or wrong, she never hesitates to trip and bring about the downfall of her opponent. On numerous occasions, she has

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threatened to appeal to military force in case her wishes were not complied with.

Her Oriental diplomacy, that in which she uses her hands and her feet, is exemplified in her dealings with Korea. First, she caused Korea to declare herself independent of China; then she made her a protectorate; next she brought about the abdication of the Korean Emperor; and finally, she annexed the peninsula. Although each step was apparently taken by the voluntary action of Korea, facts prove that in each instance Korea was made to clearly understand that unless she pursued a course in keeping with the wishes of Japan, military force would be employed. With China also, since the Russo-Japan War, in all her diplomatic negotiations, ending with the famous Twenty-one Demands, Japan has gained her points by threatening military force.

Now, turning to the question as to whether the relation of China to Japan is comparable to that of Mexico to the United States, we

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find that many Japanese publicists stoutly defend the affirmative. Of course, the similarity is striking. Yet Japan must acknowledge that the United States, for the space of a century, has insisted that all nations recognize the operation of her Monroe Doctrine not only with regard to Mexico but even with regard to all Central and South American nations.

In contrast to this, Japan has not only recognized the Open Door policy in Asia for the past twenty years, but by the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan contracted to safeguard the political and commercial interests of Asiatic countries. One can therefore easily detect the difference between the relation of China to Japan and Mexico to the United States. However, by the Ishii-Lansing Agreement, the United States recognized Japan's special interests in China, provided China's sovereignty should not be affected thereby. Such being the case, while on the one hand maintaining the Open

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Door policy in China, the United States is bound to recognize Japan's special privileges along commercial and industrial lines.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the population of Japan is increasing at a very rapid rate. Where to house her offspring is therefore a vital question with her. Can she find room in China? Not to advantage; because, China being an older nation is already over-populated in some districts, while everywhere, even in Manchuria, which is more sparsely settled, Chinese labor is cheaper than Japanese. What then prevents the Japanese from settling in Korea? After the annexation, a strong agricultural company for the sending of farmers to Korea was organized under the financial protection of the Japanese Government. Through the efforts of this organization, in conjunction with the improved civil administration, the agricultural products of Korea have been greatly increased and many new products introduced. However, as far as immigration

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is concerned, but little headway has been made. Though not so old a country as China, still Korea antedates Japan by many centuries. In consequence, her soil is densely populated and affords but little opportunity for Japanese expansion. Apparently, therefore, the only country on the Asiatic continent where the field is open, is Siberia.

One of the questions strongly confronting Americans is how permanent peace may be maintained between the United States and Japan. As a first step, each nation must recognize the civilization of the other as highly developed along its own peculiar lines. Second, each nation must know that the people of the two races cannot amalgamate. Third, both nations must make the Pacific Ocean a boundary line. Fourth, both Americans and Japanese should realize that great benefit may be obtained by studying the civilization of the other. It is advisable that prominent men of both nations visit the country of the other. However, brief trips,

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while they satisfy curiosity and occasionally promote trade, bring no permanent results. The establishment of the exchange professorship system between universities, though certainly of some value, accomplished little more than to introduce new lines of knowledge and establish certain friendships within limited circles.

If bankers and other men of means both in Japan and in the United States should subscribe to a fund to be used toward international betterment, such fund might be apportioned among several universities, to be used as prize money in intercollegiate debates on Japanese subjects. Annual debates of this nature would not only arouse the interest of the public in general, but they would at the same time make possible the presentation of Japanese questions in their true light. Furthermore, a substantial sum should be raised in each of the two nations for the purpose of sending university graduates to the country of the other to study there for at

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least three years. Men of this type, equipped with a good educational foundation and being full of ambition and vigor, would be able to do research work without bias, and upon returning home, would become leaders of thought and interpreters of the life of the country in which they had sojourned. After a decade or two of such exchange of students, there would be men in both countries capable of handling questions of state intelligently, and untold benefits would be reaped.

If the Pacific Ocean be taken as the boundary line between Japan and the United States, it will be a matter of prime importance for each of these nations to recognize the other as the leader across the waters. That the United States is the leading power in the Western Hemisphere is an established fact. However, Japan is merely regarded as the strongest and most advanced nation in Asia. Therefore, some means must be devised whereby Japan shall become the recognized leader in the Orient. The first step in this

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direction can be taken only after Japan has established amicable relations with China. For more than a score of years, Japan has financed China, educated her young men in Japanese schools and colleges, and sent eminent Japanese to be advisers of China in military and civil lines. Nevertheless, the two nations are becoming more and more estranged, and at any time there may be open conflict. Some common ground upon which both nations may compromise must be found. The carrying out of the Shimonoseki treaty in its original form would pave the way for the settlement of many difficulties. According to the terms of this document, China voluntarily ceded the Liao-tung peninsula, exclusive of Port Arthur, to Japan at the close of the Chino-Japan War. Thereupon, Germany, Russia, and France, under pretense of maintaining permanent peace in the Orient forced Japan to hand back this peninsula to China. This accomplished, these three powers immediately set themselves to

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obtain slices of Chinese territory. One trouble followed another, climaxing in the Boxer Uprising and the Russo-Japan War.

Today, although Japan has obtained important leases and railroad concessions in Manchuria and encroached far into the interior of China, yet neither the Japanese nor the Chinese are satisfied with present conditions. To meet the present situation, China should surrender the territory in Liao-tung according to the terms of the Shimonoseki treaty, thereby making that peninsula an integral part of the Japanese Empire. Then, Japan taking the lead, extra-territorial rights in China, the control of the Chinese customs and post office, and the right to fix tariff rates, which properly belong to China as an independent nation, should be restored to her by all nations now in control of the same.

Foreign mining, railroad, industrial, and other concessions which are held by many nations in various parts of China, among which Japan is prominent, should be retained

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by these nations in accordance with the terms under which they were granted. In all other respects, Japan, together with all other interested nations, should entirely withdraw their troops from Chinese territory and surrender all political rights held by them in China. Long before the tenures of the various aforesaid concessions expire, the United States will doubtless have granted independence to the Philippines, either complete or under a protectorate. Then the Pacific Ocean will become a real boundary line between Occidental and Oriental nations. This having been accomplished, race equality, which does not necessarily entail freedom of emigration to the country of the other, but implies rather that all persons already resident in any country or who may be admitted in future, shall enjoy equal rights and privileges with the natives of that country, will be practicable. The move made by Japan at the Peace Conference in Paris in demanding race equality without first recognizing race

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equality among Asiatic peoples and without raising her own economic standard, was inevitably of no avail, notwithstanding that from the standpoint of justice and humanitarianism the question itself had strong grounds for being supported by all nations.

History repeats itself. Japan today is very much like the Japan of the beginning of the 17th century. While possessed of the geographical advantage of being far away from other great powers, Japan finds that circumstances will not permit of her being isolated. For this reason, it is her policy to seek the friendship of some other nation. Therefore, after the war with China and Korea at the close of the 16th century, Japan entered into treaty relations with Korea on most humble terms. Consequently, because of this bent toward alliance, should Japan be disregarded by the leading nations and left entirely to herself without friends or allies, it would not be surprising if she should come to some understanding with the Soviet Govern-

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ment of Russia on the Siberian question. Later, Germany might be approached. From the present trend of things, it may sound illogical and improbable that a strong alliance might be formed by Japan, Russia, and Germany. However, should this become an accomplished fact, such alliance would be one of the most formidable known in history. Then weaker nations, such as Poland and China, would fall an easy prey, and a second world war might be staged. From this point of view, the peace of the world pivots upon a proper recognition by the United States and other great powers of the position to which Japan has attained in world affairs.

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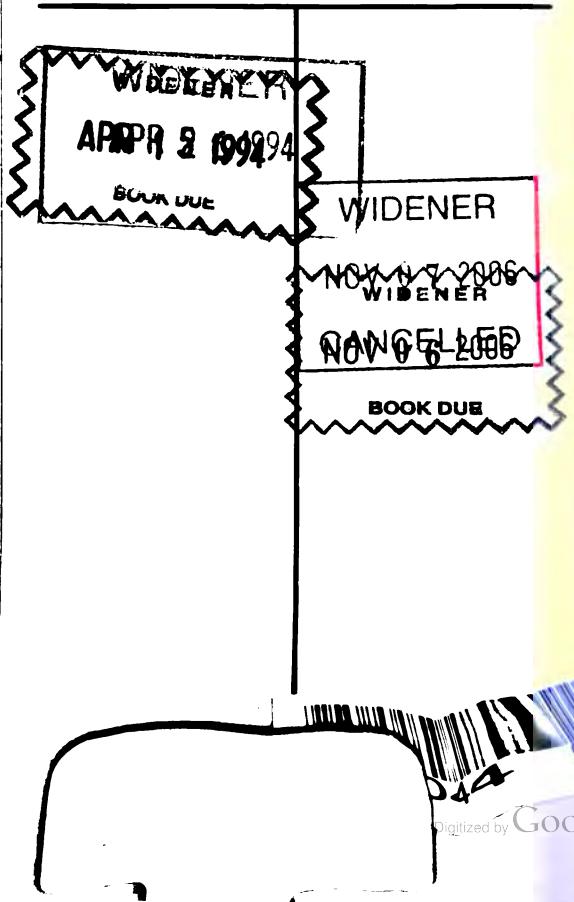

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